

• HORACE •

• HISTORICAL • AND • POLITICAL • ODES •

• CHURCH •



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HORACE

HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL ODES



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HORACE

THE HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL ODES

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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PREFACE.

In the second volume of the *Classical Review* are some highly interesting papers by Dr. Theobald Ziegler, professor in the University of Strasbourg, on "Classical Education in Germany". In one of these Professor Ziegler remarks: "Of course a good teacher does not take them (the Odes of Horace) in Horace's order, but arranges them according to their contents". I must confess that I had read the Odes with my classes at school and college for many years without so arranging them, and that I had not even heard of any such method being followed. It would indeed have been often impossible to do so, because the portions set for examination always consist of one or more of the Books.

Of course this fact has been a practical difficulty in the way of carrying out the idea which Professor Ziegler's words at once suggested to me, and which at last has found shape in this volume. Doubt has been expressed whether, in view of the common practice of examining bodies, a place would be found for such a book. Horace, however, is not always read, even in schools, for examination purposes. There is a manifest advantage in bringing together whatever of his poetry bears upon the profoundly interesting subject of Roman history. Another advantage, not less important, is to be found in the fact that we can here present to the young reader some of Horace's noblest thought and expression without any admixture of the frivolous or base.

I have had before me in putting together my Notes the editions of Orelli, Marshall, Wickham, and Page. To these I wish to make a general acknowledgment. Special obligations I have endeavoured to notice where they occur.

A. J. C.

Ashley Rectory, Tetbury.

August 7th, 1894.

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INTRODUCTION.

It is not easy for a writer who has for his subject the fall of the Roman Republic and the rise of the Empire to fix his starting-point. The tribuneship of Tib. Gracchus (133 B.C.), or the sixth consulship of C. Marius (100 B.C.), might serve as such. But as I am treating the subject in connection with Horace and his poetry, it may be convenient to take the date which he fixes himself. "You are handling", he says to his friend C. Pollio, "the civil strife which began with the consulship of Metellus." And, indeed, no better date could be found. That year (59 B.C.) "saw the republic", as Professor Pelham puts it, "powerless in the hands of three citizens". The three, C. Julius Caesar, Cn. Pompeius Magnus, and M. Licinius Crassus, were the so-called First Triumvirate. *Triumvir*, 'one of a commission of three', was a term well known in the Roman constitution. There were *triumviri*—tresviri, often written with a numeral IIIviri, is, perhaps, the more correct term—for various purposes ordinary and extraordinary. The *tresviri capitales* were charged with the order of the streets in Rome, and performed, in addition, some of the functions of our sheriffs. These were permanent officials. *Tresviri coloniae deducendae* or *agro dividundo*, on the other hand, were appointed for the temporary purpose which their title indicated. The three powerful citizens mentioned above were not in any such sense triumvirs. Indeed, the name was not applied to them till long afterwards. They were a power outside the constitution, and their predominance, making as it did all legal power insignificant, was a sure prognostic of the new order of things that was

approaching. Two words of common use in Latin express the relation of the so-called Triumvirs to the regularly constituted authorities. Power exercised outside the lines of the constitution was *potentia*; legitimate authority, the power of the duly appointed magistrate, the duly summoned assembly, was *potestas*. *Potentia*, of course, there had always been. 'Influence' is one of the terms which its meaning includes, and influence, other than constitutional power, there must always be. But now for the first time in Roman history, times of regular warfare not included, the irregular *potentia* overpowered the regular *potestas*. Men inquired, not about the probable action of the Consuls, the Senate, or the People, but about the designs of the Three. Of these each one had objects of his own to secure. Pompeius had to fulfil his obligations to the legions by which he had conquered the East; Crassus, the least important member of the confederacy, had enormous interests to promote as the first capitalist in Rome; Caesar had to construct for himself the instrument by which he was to make himself master of the Empire. A five-years' command in Gaul, both south and north of the Alps, was his immediate share of the spoil. In that province he was to bring together and habituate to conquest a great army. If we are to fix on any one incident as settling the downfall of the Republic it was the *Lex Vatinia*,¹ which gave him the provinces of Hither Gaul and Illyricum, together with an army of five legions, for five years. The Senate was persuaded, how we know not, to add Further Gaul to his command.

It is needless to pursue in detail the events of the years that followed. In 58 Cicero was banished, and Cicero was the only leader under whom a republic was possible, if indeed it was possible at all. He was recalled, it is true, next year in a burst of popular enthusiasm, due, however, not so much to Rome itself, as to the Italian voters. For a few months it seemed that constitutional government might yet have another lease of life. But the party which favoured

¹ So called from its proposer in the Public Assembly, the Tribune, P. Vatinus.

it was weak and divided, and the Three were too strong. They met at Luca (*Lucca*), near the northern border of Etruria, in 56, and divided the Empire between them. The bargain came into force in the next year. Pompey and Crassus became Consuls, and with their encouragement the Tribune Trebonius proposed a law by which Caesar's command was continued for a second period of five years; Pompeius had assigned to him the provinces of Africa and Spain; while Crassus received Syria. Cicero felt his career as a political leader to be at an end, and devoted himself to letters and philosophy. In 53 Crassus disappeared from the scene. He had discovered that the fame of a conqueror was necessary if he was to hold his own among the virtual rulers of Rome. This fame Pompeius had won in the East and Caesar was winning in the West. The only field that seemed open to him was the conquest of the Parthian kingdom. The campaign which followed was a series of follies and disasters, and ended in his defeat and death at Carrhae.

Pompeius and Caesar now stood face to face as rivals for supreme power. Julia,¹ who had been a bond of union between the two, had died the year before (54). The crisis came in 49. Caesar desired to stand for the consulship in the autumn of that year, and to do so without coming to Rome. The Senate, led, half unwillingly, by Pompeius, required that he should disband his legions, or, if he kept his command, which naturally lasted till the end of the year, should give up all idea of the consulship. Caesar answered by crossing the Rubicon.² A few weeks afterwards he was in Rome, and practically master of Italy. Pompeius had evacuated Brundisium, where he had made his last stand for the possession of the peninsula, on March 17th. On the 9th of August in the following year he was disastrously defeated at Pharsalia, in Thessaly, and on the 29th of September was dead. Two years later (July, 46), after a series of vigorous

¹ Daughter of Caesar and second wife of Pompeius.

² This little river was the boundary between Caesar's province of Hither Gaul and Italy. When he crossed it with his troops he put himself outside the law, and became in fact an invader of Italy.

operations in which he crushed all opposition, foreign and domestic, Caesar entered Rome its undisputed master.

At this time Horace, who was born on the 6th of December, 65, was in his nineteenth year, and had been for some time a student at Athens. His father was an emancipated slave, possibly, if we may hazard the conjecture, a Greek by birth,¹ who had realized a small fortune in his employment of auctioneer's clerk. The confiscations which followed the alternate triumphs of hostile parties in Rome must have put plenty of business into the hands of those who followed this profession. Horace's father, who probably married late, his son not having been born till five years after his emancipation, must have profited by the busy times which followed the victory of Sulla.² His means were not indeed large, but they were sufficient to meet a considerable expenditure on his son's education. This was carried on for a time, i.e., between the poet's twelfth and eighteenth year, under the best teachers at Rome, and was completed at Athens, whither it was becoming the fashion for the Roman youth to proceed at about the same age at which a university career among ourselves is now commenced.

Great events meanwhile were happening in the world of politics. After a stay of four months in Rome, Caesar set out for Spain, where the sons of Pompeius had collected a strong force. He won the battle of Munda on March 17th, 45, and entered Rome again in the beginning of October. About six months afterwards, March 15th, 44, he was assassinated, and the final struggle between republicanism and imperialism commenced.

Horace was now in his twenty-first year. What his personal leanings in political matters may have been we have no means of knowing, but it may be conjectured with no little

¹ Horace, though he speaks most affectionately and gratefully of his father, tells us nothing about the facts of his life, except his social rank and his employment. The conjecture of a Greek descent rests upon the poet's enthusiastic love of Greek literature. No other Roman writer knew so much of it or imitated it with such success.

² This was in 81, when the elder Horace may have been about forty years of age.

probability that they inclined to republicanism. Students, with the curious exception of our own university youth, are commonly among the fiercest partisans of freedom; at Athens certainly all the associations of the place, historical and literary, were hostile to personal rule. However this may have been, the young Horace certainly gave in his adhesion to the republican cause. In September, 44, M. Brutus visited Athens. Whether he was in want of young officers, though the golden youth of Rome, sons of the great senatorial families, were on his side, or was attracted by some charm in the poet's personality—Brutus, it will be remembered, had strong literary tastes—it is certain that he offered him a tribuneship in the republican army. Nominally this was a high command, giving the holder a right, shared with his five colleagues of the same rank, to command the legion. As a matter of fact, it was little more than an honorary post. Young men of good birth or fortune commonly received the promotion after a very brief military experience, sometimes without any experience at all. The officer really in charge was some veteran centurion, who was supposed to take his orders from the young tribune, but really suggested them. Horace left Athens in the company of his patron. We may conclude that he was, for a time at least, in personal attendance on him, for he describes, with the air of having been an eye-witness, the trial of a suit in which Brutus sat as judge. He speaks of himself as having seen some sharp fighting, as having been, along with the old comrade whom he is addressing, "often brought to the last extremity" (IX.). Where this may have happened we cannot say, possibly in Thrace, where Brutus sought to relieve his desperate want of means by plundering the native tribes, a warlike population which was not likely to submit quietly to such exactions.

While the republican leaders were conducting their operations in a somewhat aimless fashion, a powerful coalition was formed at Rome. M. Antonius, C. Octavius, great-nephew, adopted son, and heir of Caesar, and Lepidus, a third, who played the part of Crassus, combined their powers. A vote of the people appointed them 'commissioners for

settling public affairs, their office to last for five years'.¹ Leaving the younger Pompeius undisturbed in Sicily, Octavius and Antony sailed eastward to meet Brutus and his colleagues. An indecisive battle was fought at Philippi in Macedonia, followed, after an interval of twenty days, by another, which resulted in the entire rout of the republican forces. Horace was serving in the defeated army, and was fortunate enough to escape from the field. In the ode from which I have already quoted (p. 13), he describes his experiences—

“Philippi’s field
Witnessed our fall, when heroes fought in vain
And soiled with bloody lips Emathia’s plain.
All lost, or fled. I fled without my shield!
Swift-footed Hermes from on high
Wrapt in a cloud his trembling votary,
Thee refluant eddies whirled
Back to the struggles of a stormy world.”²

The young man made his way, after what interval of time we do not know, to Rome. The *Life* attributed to Suetonius tells us that he obtained his pardon. The small estate left him by his father was probably lost, for Venusia, his birth-place, was in the territory confiscated to furnish allotments of land for the victorious soldiers. He seems, however, to have had some means left. Probably some faithful friend had taken charge of some ready money which he now took the opportunity to restore. Anyhow, Horace was able to buy a clerkship in the treasury.³ And now his career as a poet began. His own description of the causes that drove him into literary activity must be given:

¹ “*ut tresviri reipublicae constituendae per quinquennium essent.*” They were therefore actually and legally, so far as an appointment obviously extorted by force was legal, *triumvirs*.

² Translated by Sir Stephen de Vere.

³ He was a *scriba quaestorii*. Long afterwards he had some connection with the *scribae*, for he mentions (*Sat.* II. vi. 36) among the many distractions of a day in Rome, a request from the corporation for his advice on some matter that touched their common interests—

“De re communi scribae magna atque nova te
orabant hodie meminisses, Quinte, reverti”.

"Romae nutriri mihi contigit atque doceri
 iratus Graiis quantum nocuisset Achilles.
 adiecere bonae paulo plus artis Athenae,
 scilicet ut vellem curvo dinoscere rectum,
 atque inter silvas academi quaerere verum.
 dura sed emovere loco me tempora grato,
 civilisque rudem belli tulit aestus in arma
 Caesaris Augusti non responsura lacertis,
 unde simul primum me dimisere Philippi,
 decisis humilem pennis inopemque paterni
 et laris et fundi paupertas impulit audax
 ut versus facerem."¹

We naturally ask, What where these verses which the pressure of poverty drove the young clerk to write, by which he hoped to obtain money or friends? Can we recognize them in anything of his that survives? Before we attempt to answer these questions, it will be well to sketch the course of events between the battle of Philippi (42) and the last meeting of Antony and Augustus at Brundisium (37).

In 41 occurred what is called the Perusine War. Early in that year Octavius set about the task of dividing the confiscated lands among the veterans of the victorious army. It was an ungrateful business, raising hatred among the dispossessed and discontent among the recipients. Lucius Antonius, youngest brother of the Triumvir, saw, he thought, an opportunity of overthrowing Octavius. He raised a force, partly from the vanquished party, partly from old troops that had served under his brother. At one time he was strong enough to enter Rome; retiring thence, northward, he stood a long siege in Perugia. If the Triumvir, instead of wasting his time in Egypt with Cleopatra, had acted with energy,

¹ 'It was my good luck to be brought up at Rome, and there to be taught what hurt the wrath of Achilles wrought the Greeks. Kindly Athens added a little more culture, making me wish at least to distinguish the right from the wrong and to seek for truth amid the groves of the Academy. But from that pleasant place the cruel times bore me off, and the tide of civil strife carried me, all ignorant of war, to the armies that were no match for the mighty thews of Caesar Augustus. As soon as Philippi gave me my discharge, crawling low with wings close cut, stripped of my inheritance of home and farm, bold poverty drove me into making verse.

and moved to his brother's help, the consequences might have been serious—nothing less, indeed, than another civil war as formidable as that which had been settled by Philippi. As it was, Antony, as it will be convenient to call him, was too late, Perugia had fallen before he left Egypt. Even then he sailed to Italy, and laid siege to Brundisium. Happily for Rome a peace was patched up; a fresh division of the provinces was made; and the new alliance was strengthened by the marriage of Antony with the sister of Octavius. His first wife, the cruel and unscrupulous Fulvia, had died in the course of the year.

The feud between Octavius and Antony was not the only danger that threatened the peace of the Roman world. In Sicily, Sextus Pompeius continued to hold his own in spite of all the efforts that were made to subdue him. His fleet commanded the Mediterranean, and the shores of Italy were exposed to piratical attacks. In 39 an arrangement, known as the Treaty of Misenum, was made with him, and for a time there was peace.

The Eastern provinces of the Empire were in a deplorable condition. Orodes, King of Parthia, who had sent a contingent of cavalry to fight on the Republican side at Philippi, crossed the Euphrates, and invaded the Roman dominions. His army was led by T. Labienus, who had acted as envoy of Brutus and Cassius to the Parthian court, and had remained there after the defeat of his party. The Roman troops in Syria, among whom the memory of Pompey was still cherished, and who felt little love for the nephew and heir of Caesar, joined him. The greater part of Asia Minor was soon overrun.

The summer of 40 was then a period of almost unbroken gloom. Antony and Octavius were almost at war; Sextus Pompeius threatened Italy; the Parthians were victorious in the East. Then things began to mend. The Triumvirs were reconciled; Pompeius was bought off; and Ventidius Bassus drove back the Parthians into their own territory; repeating his victory over them with such effect in the following year (38) that all danger from this quarter was at an end.

In 38 or 37 Horace appears on the scene. His famous 'Journey to Brundisium', described in *Sat.* 1. v., has been assigned by some commentators to the earlier, by others to the later year. Professor Palmer, in his edition of the *Satires* (Macmillan, 1883), gives convincing reasons for preferring the earlier date. Octavius in that year was disturbed by the successes of Sex. Pompeius. Driven to seek the help of Antony, he sent Maecenas to arrange the matters in dispute between them. Maecenas was successful, and, early in the following year, Antony appeared with a fleet. Fresh difficulties arose, and these again were disposed of by a personal meeting of the two Triumvirs at Tarentum later in the year. But, as Professor Palmer remarks, ambassadors would not be wanted, when the principals were to meet, nor, if the meeting was to be at Tarentum, would there be any occasion to go to Brundisium. We have to conclude, therefore, that Maecenas, bound for Greece in the autumn of 38 (a season which, as Professor Palmer points out, suits various notes of time in the Satire), was accompanied as far as Brundisium by certain of his literary friends, among whom Horace appears. Towards the latter end of 38, then, Horace is an accepted member of the Maecenas circle. His first introduction to the great man had taken place about a year before. This introduction would of itself, by the prospects which it opened up before him, do something to change his views, to make him more hopeful of the future. He would be at least disposed to see some merit in the new *régime*.

We are consequently in a position to fix with tolerable certainty the date of his earliest poems. Epodes vii. and xvi. (marked I. and II. in this selection) are despairing complaints of the times. Rome, cries the poet, is being ruined by civil strife, and there is no one to apply a remedy. In I., there is a mention of the Parthians, which may be taken with some probability to indicate that the poet was thinking of troubles in the East. In II., there is no special reference to events of the day; it is an expansion of the idea that forms the motive of I., and may be taken as later, though probably but little later, in date. As a matter

of literary probability, we may say that II. may well have been written after I., but not I. after II. Epode iv. (marked III.) is a bitter invective against some upstart of servile origin who had been promoted to equestrian rank, and who was flaunting his new honours in the face of an indignant city. It contains a clear allusion to Sex. Pompeius. 'What is the good', asks the poet, 'of fitting out great fleets against the pirates and runaway slaves'—just the terms in which Pompeius' followers would be spoken of in Rome—'when such a fellow as this is made a tribune?' The object of the attack is said by the Scholiasts to have been Menas or Menodorus, a trusted friend of Pompeius, who in 38 betrayed a squadron which he commanded and the island of Sardinia to Augustus. This is not probable; for Menas must have been in some favour in Rome, really despised, no doubt, by those whom he had served by his treachery, but still safe against open attack of this kind. This, however, does not concern our present purpose. Extract III. may be conjecturally ascribed to 38, when the Treaty of Misenum had broken down, and before the defeat of Pompeius in 36.

These three poems, then, must be put in a class by themselves. The writer of them is clearly not yet 'reconciled'. He despairs of the state; he does not recognize anywhere the men who are to save it. It can hardly be supposed, therefore, that they can be the verses which were to win powerful friends for their writer. These are probably to be found in the earlier Satires or even in some of the Odes. Published later, and after receiving the corrections suggested by a more mature taste, these may have been first written in the early days of Horace's residence in Rome, and may have proved to Maecenas, even when less perfect in form than now, that a new poet worthy of his patronage had been found.

In 36, as has been said, Sex. Pompeius was defeated. Maecenas took part in the expedition which ended in this result. It has been argued that Epode i. (IV.) belongs to this period. Another theory refers it to some time before the battle of Actium. Maecenas did not, as a matter of fact, take any part in the Actium campaign, but remained in

Italy in charge of the domestic administration of affairs. On the other hand, he did accompany Augustus in the expedition against Sex. Pompeius. My own opinion, which, I must, however, confess, has changed during the preparation of this text-book, inclines to the Actium theory. If so, IV. and V. belong to much the same time.

The five years between 36 and 31 were employed by Augustus in consolidating his power in the West. Spain, Africa, and Gaul were reduced to order by his able lieutenants, Statilius Taurus, Domitius Calvinus, and M. Agrippa. The one foreign war of importance that occurred was successfully conducted by himself. This was carried on in Illyrium and Pannonia, and resulted in a complete victory.

But trouble was gathering in the East. Antony, the slave of his foolish passion for Cleopatra, was committing folly after folly. He distributed the provinces of the Empire among the Egyptian Queen and her sons, divorced his Roman wife Octavia, and even declared that he should support Caesarion, as the rightful heir of the great Julius against the claims of Augustus. War was inevitable, and but for the indolence of Antony might have ended in fatal disaster. Happily for the world, for it is difficult to imagine the humiliation which would have followed the installing of the Egyptian Queen and her paramour in the Capitol, the blow that might have been struck was delayed. Antony had vast fleets, legions which far outnumbered all the forces that Augustus could bring into the field, and the long-stored wealth of Egypt at his command. But he failed to seize the opportunity, while his follies, his shameful treason to Rome, raised to the highest pitch the indignation of all who had love or respect for their country.

Still, the situation may well have seemed threatening. During the winter of 32-31 a huge fleet and army lay at Actium, ready, as soon as the spring began, to descend upon Italy. It was only too possible that the orderly government, which had given to the West a sense of security that had long been absent, might be overthrown, that the Ship of State might be at sea again, to use a common metaphor, in the

midst of the storm from which she had but so lately escaped. The fourteenth ode of the first book (V.) may well belong to this time, though it has been sometimes attributed to a later date, when Augustus was threatening to lay down his imperial power. My own impression is that it better suits the earlier occasion. If the poet had thought fit to remonstrate against the intention of Augustus he would hardly have put it in this particular form. It is rather an exhortation to the country to be true to its best interests, to keep to the safe haven which it has won, than to the ruler to sacrifice his own ease for the sake of his people. On September 2nd, 31, the great battle was fought, and ended in the total defeat of the forces of Antony. VI. was written as soon as the news reached Rome, before it was known what had become of the defeated general. The ode that follows (VII.) is another lay of triumph on the same event, but written a year later, after Cleopatra's death.

On August 1 in this year (30 B.C.), Augustus entered Alexandria. For twelve months more he prolonged his stay in the East. The provinces of that part of the Empire had to be rescued from the disorder into which the rule of Antony had plunged them; the tributary princes were to be established on their thrones; regulations, in particular, had to be made for the future government of Egypt, an addition to the Roman Empire the enormous importance of which Augustus was not slow to recognize. Early in August, 29, he entered Rome, and celebrated three triumphs on three successive days. Pannonia, Dalmatia, and Egypt gave names to the three, for such honours could not be paid to a victory over a fellow-countryman. Nevertheless, the conquest of Antony was the real subject for rejoicing. The Roman world was inexpressibly relieved to see power definitely settled in the hands of Augustus. And it was justified in its confidence. On January 11th, 28, the Temple of Janus, always kept open as long as the Roman people had any war on hand, was closed for the first time for more than two hundred years.¹

¹ The last occasion had been in 235 B.C., not long after the conclusion of the First Punic War.

This was the earnest of a peace which lasted, without any interruption that affected the Empire as a whole, for more than a century.

Effectual defence against external enemies was provided for by the establishment of permanent camps on those frontiers of the Empire which were most seriously threatened, the Rhine and the Euphrates. At the same time a judicious division of the provinces of the Empire was made. Those which were not in danger of invasion were handed over to the care of the Senate, which had the appointment of their governors; those, on the other hand, which required military occupation were under the direct management of the Emperor in his capacity of commander-in-chief, the permanent Imperator of the armies of Rome. Internal peace was assured by judicious acts of conciliation and amnesty. The veteran soldiers were provided for, irrespective of the side on which they had fought, by allotments of land; friends of the vanquished parties were permitted to return to Italy. Domestic reforms were energetically pressed. The Senate was purged of unworthy members; morality was encouraged, and license repressed by severe enactments; old temples were rebuilt, and new ones erected. And everything was done under constitutional forms. The Emperor was absolute, but his power was exercised in the old names associated with the liberties of Rome. As a permanent Proconsul, with special powers, he could exercise his military power within the walls of the capital; as permanent Tribune of the People he was officially the champion of the liberties of the Commons. The relief of Rome, at last delivered from the incessant strife of party which had distracted her for more than a hundred years, was expressed in language which seems to us full of extravagant adulation. Horace had not been chary of his praises of the great general who had shattered the combination of Roman traitors and foreign foes at Actium, but these praises are as nothing to the flatteries which he heaps on the man who has given peace and order to Rome. VIII. is a characteristic expression of these feelings. The poet recalls the portents by which heaven had manifested

its anger at the murder of Caesar. He asks where a remedy for the troubles of the State is to be found. Will Venus, or Mars, or Apollo help the imperilled Empire? Finally it is to Augustus, in whom he recognizes a divine visitant condescending to dwell awhile on earth, that he turns.¹ The

¹It will be interesting to compare with this ode the invocation of Augustus which we find in the First Georgic, an invocation still more extravagant in language. It was read to Augustus in the year 29, immediately after his return to Italy. After appealing to Bacchus and Ceres, to the Fauns and Dryads, to Pan and Minerva, all the gods and goddesses that cared for rural things, that caused the crops to grow and the rain to fall, he goes on—

“Tuque adeo, quem mox quae sint habitura deorum
concilia incertum est, urbisne iuvire, Caesar,
terrarumve velis curam, et te maximus orbis
auctorem frugum tempestatumque potentem
accipiat, cingens materna tempora myrto,
an deus immensi venias maris ac tua nautae
numina sola colant, tibi serviat ultima Thule,
teque sibi generum Tethys emat omnibus undis;
anne novum tardis sidus te mensibus addas,
qua locus Erigonen inter Chelasque sequentis
panditur; ipse tibi iam brachia contrahit ardens
Scorpios, et caeli iusta plus parte reliquit;
quidquid eris,—nam te nec sperant Tartara regem
nec tibi regnandi veniat tam dira cupido;
quamvis Elysios miretur Graecia campos,
nec repetita sequi curet Proserpina matrem—
da facilem cursum, atque audacibus adnue coeptis,
ignarosque viae mecum miseratus agrestis
ingredere, et votis iam nunc adsuesce vocari”.

“Thou, Caesar, chief, where'er thy choice ordain,
To fix 'mid gods thy yet unchosen reign—
Wilt thou o'er cities stretch thy guardian sway,
While earth, and all her realms thy nod obey?
The world's vast orb shall own thy genial power,
Giver of fruits, fair sun, and favouring shower;
Before thy altar grateful nations bow,
And with maternal myrtle wreath thy brow.
O'er boundless ocean shall thy power prevail,
Thee her sole lord the world of waters hail?
Rule, where the sea remotest Thule laves,
While Tethys dowers thy bride with all her waves?
Wilt thou 'mid Scorpius and the Virgin rise,
And, a new star, illumine thy native skies?
Scorpius, e'en now, each shrinking claw confines,
And more than half his heaven to thee resigns.

ode probably belongs to the year 28. This is indicated by the expression, "*hic ames dici Pater atque Princeps*". It is true that the title *Pater Patriae* was not formally bestowed on Augustus till many years after any date which can possibly be assigned to this poem. It was decreed by the Senate in B.C. 2, when Horace had been dead six years. But the title is a general one. Ovid (quoted by Mr. Wickham) says (*Fasti* ii. 127)—

"Sancte Pater patriae, tibi Plebs, tibi Curia nomen
hoc dedit; hoc dedimus nos tibi nomen, Eques;
res tamen ante dedit".

It had been given to Camillus, to Cicero, to Julius Caesar (after his death). It is useless as an indication of time. *Princeps*, on the other hand, is a word of a more technical kind. As this was given to Augustus in 28, it will be better to attribute the ode to that year.

To about the same time we may attribute IX. We know nothing of the Pompeius Varus to whom it is addressed, except that he had fought on the losing side at Philippi, and that he had been an intimate friend of the poet. Some have thought that it belongs to the year 39, when one of the provisions of the peace with S. Pompeius was that all the banished should be permitted to return. This peace, however, was very short-lived, and it is safe to conclude that the poem refers to the general amnesty which followed Augustus' unquestioned supremacy.

Possibly X. is of about the same date. C. Asinius Pollio was a man of the highest principles and of commanding

Where'er thy reign (for not if hell invite
To wield the sceptre of eternal night,
Ne'er would such lust of dire dominion move
Thee, Caesar, to resign the realm of Jove,
Though vaunting Greece extol th' Elysian plain,
Whence weeping Ceres wooes her child in vain),
Breathe favouring gales, my course propitious guide,
O'er the rude swain's uncertain path preside;
Now, now invoked, assert thy heavenly birth,
And learn to hear our prayer, a god on earth."

—*Sotheby*.

ability.¹ He had taken a principal part in the reconciliation of Augustus and Antony, which went by the name of the Treaty of Brundisium. He conducted a campaign in 39 against one of the Illyrian tribes, and gained successes which were rewarded with a triumph. It was Antony who appointed him to the command, and when the war of Actium broke out he pleaded his obligations to Antony as a reason why he should be excused from taking an active part in it. Augustus admitted the excuse. Pollio from that time devoted himself to literature and to his profession as an advocate. It will be seen that there is a tone of impartiality in the poem eminently suited to Pollio's character. The 'friendships of the great' are full of trouble for the state, and Augustus was one of the *principes*. The writer must have been well established in imperial favour before he could venture to use such language. The words *nondum expiatis uncta cruoribus*, 'steeped in bloodshed not yet atoned for', have been taken to indicate that the civil war was but just finished; but the tone of the whole accounts for the 'not yet' without any consideration of time. The word might have been used in the same connection twenty years later.

To the year 28 also belong the seven odes, XI.-XVII. Augustus was endeavouring to bring about a revival in religion and a reformation in morals. In morals his own example was but of indifferent value, but his simplicity of life was worthy of all admiration. Suetonius speaks with emphasis of the modest size and unpretending style of his dwelling. The first house that he occupied was near the Forum, and had belonged to the orator Calvus; the second, though in the more dignified quarter of the Palatine Hill, had been the dwelling of Hortensius, and was neither large nor splendid. The colonnade which surrounded it was low and made of ordinary stone; the rooms were not adorned with foreign marbles or with elaborate pavements. For more than forty years he used the same bed-chamber, winter and summer. In remarkable contrast to this private frugality

¹ He is the Pollio of the famous Fourth Eclogue of Virgil. A son born in his consulship (40 B.C.), and possibly a son of his, was to bring in the Golden Age.

was the magnificence of his public works. His well-known boast that he had found a Rome of brick and left a Rome of marble was amply justified by the facts. The list¹ of great buildings, sacred and secular, erected or restored by him is a sufficiently significant comment on Horace's words in XI. 13-20 :—

" Privatus illis census erat brevis,
commune magnum : nulla decempedis
metata privatis opacam
porticus excipiebat Arcton,
nec fortuitum spernere caespitem
leges sinebant, oppida publico
sumptu iubentes et deorum
templa novo decorare saxo ".

The six odes which follow are, more or less, on the same theme. As Mr. Wickham puts it in his introduction to the Third Book of the Odes—"The unity of purpose is obvious. The ends social, moral, religious, political, which a good government should set before itself in Rome are reviewed, and it is more than once promised that Caesar's *régime* is to compass them." XVIII. is conceived in the same spirit, and may be added to the list.

XIX. belongs to the year 27, when Augustus left Rome with the intention of invading Britain.

The date of XX. seems to be manifestly fixed for 25. The succession to the throne was a matter of great anxiety to Augustus, though the anxiety was not strong enough to

¹ This list is to be found in the second division of what is called the *Monumentum Ancyranum*. This *Monumentum* is a copy of the sepulchral inscription on the pillars which stood on either side of the mausoleum of Augustus in the *Campus Martius* of Rome. Ancyra was a Galatian town, which had devoted itself with special enthusiasm to the cult of Augustus. It obtained leave to have this copy of the inscription made, and to have it inscribed on the temple which it had dedicated to Rome and Augustus. Very likely the same was done in other places, but the *cella* of the temple at Ancyra still exists, and the inscription has thus been preserved. The principal items in the list are:—

The Temple of Apollo Palatinus, of Divus Julius, Jupiter Feretrius, Jupiter Tonans, Quirinus, Minerva, Juno Regina, Jupiter Libertatis, Lares, Penates, Juventas, Mater Magna. Eighty-two temples restored in the year 28. The Senate-house and lobby, the Porticus Octavia, Aqueducts, the Forum Julium, the Basilica Julia.

make him curb his own passions. In 39 his wife Scribonia bore him a daughter, afterwards known as the famous or infamous Julia. On the very day of the infant's birth the mother was divorced, to make room for Livia, then the wife of Tiberius Nero. Livia was the mother of two sons, one of them born after her marriage to Augustus; but the Emperor had no child by her. Accordingly he found himself, after more than ten years of marriage, without a male heir. Under these circumstances he adopted M. Claudius Marcellus, son of his sister Octavia,¹ and gave him his daughter Julia, then in her fifteenth year, in marriage. The young man, whose promise and early fate have been immortalized by Virgil's lines (*Aen.* vi. 860-886), died in the autumn of 23. Horace's poem must have been written after the adoption, and of course before the death. Till the young man had been formally made a member of the Julian gens, the words *Iulium Sidus* could not have applied to him.²

It has been assumed, in accordance with the view now commonly taken by scholars, that the first three books of the odes were published at the same time in their collected form. Many of them, doubtless, had been in circulation before. The latest date that can be assigned to the collected publication is the earlier half of the year 23.

The Fourth Book of the Odes appeared ten years later. One lyric poem, not included in any one of the books, was given to the world during this interval. In the year 17 Augustus celebrated the Secular Games, a solemn act of prayer and thanksgiving to Apollo and Diana, who were singled out for this honour as the gods that had the care of the health of Rome. The *seculum* was a period of uncertain length. Augustus took its duration to be 110 years. The year that he fixed upon for the celebration was the year of the renewed grant of the *Imperium* to himself. (It had already been renewed for ten years in 27.) The keepers of the Sibylline books did not fail to find the required authority

¹ This is probably the same Octavia that was married to Antony. Some, however, suppose Antony's wife to have been an elder Octavia, half-sister to Augustus.

² But see note on XX. 47.

in the oracles of which they had charge, and the court antiquarians discovered that similar celebrations had taken place in the years 436, 326, 126. Even then the Emperor anticipated the correct date, but the variation was justified by the statement that the rite was held in the last year of the old *seculum*, rather than in the first year of the new. Part of the celebration was the singing of a hymn to the two deities, and Horace, as the Poet Laureate of the day, was charged with the duty of writing it.¹

The ten years between 23 and 13 had brought considerable changes. The imperial power had been still further consolidated. The Roman world, in general, accepted as a necessity the concentration of power in the hands of a single ruler. External affairs were, on the whole, prosperous. The Parthian King had given back (20 B.C.) the standards lost by the army of Crassus, and so far the disgrace of the defeat had been obliterated, though it was not by any means true, as stated in the flattering words of the court poets, that these standards had been recovered by force of arms. The Cantabrian tribes in Northern Spain, which had long resisted the armies of Rome, had been subdued by Agrippa. This was in the year 19.

In the year 17 Lollius indeed was defeated by the Sygambri, a German tribe which had invaded Gallia Belgica, and Augustus had thought it necessary to proceed in person to Gaul. The prestige of Rome was restored by himself and his lieutenants, and when he returned to Rome in 13 the frontiers of the Empire were undisturbed. Mean-

¹ An interesting discovery was made in 1890, in connection with the *Carmen Seculare*. In the *Campus Martius* between the Bridge of S. Angelo and the Church of S. Giovanni de' Fiorentini were found fragments of two columns, which had been set up to commemorate the celebration of the *Ludi Seculares* on two occasions—by Augustus in 17 B.C., and by Septimius Severus and his sons in A.D. 204. The inscription on the column of Augustus gives a list of the various sacrifices and festivities that took place on the occasion, and records the singing of the *Carmen*. This was done, it tells us, twice, for the first time on the way from the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine Hill to the Capitol, and for the second on the way back. The choir consisted of 27 boys and as many girls. There was an orchestral accompaniment. The inscription adds:

CARMEN COMPOSUIT Q. HORATIVS FLACCVS.

while the prospects of succession were hopeful. Marcellus indeed was dead, but Julia, the daughter of Augustus, had borne two sons to her second husband Agrippa, Caius Caesar in B.C. 20, and Lucius Caesar in B.C. 17. The stepsons of the Emperor had also highly distinguished themselves. Tiberius the elder was twenty-five years old, Drusus the younger twenty-three, when the two conducted with brilliant success a campaign against the tribes of the Eastern Alps (B.C. 15). Drusus marched through the Brenner Pass, and defeated the Raeti in a great battle; Tiberius ascended the Rhine to the Lake of Constance and transported his troops to the southern extremity. Between them they reduced the country now known as the Grisons and the Tyrol. Their victories were celebrated in two odes (XXI., XXII.), but attributed to the genius and piety of Augustus as their ultimate cause. The poem that follows (XXIII.) is addressed to Augustus, and belongs to the period of his absence from Rome. The Empire, says the poet, owes to him the blessings of prosperity and peace. Its enemies from without are subdued; all that troubled its peace from within have been removed; all that a virtuous and happy people has now to desire is that the author of these blessings will again favour them with the light of his countenance. To the same time we may assign XXIV. Finally, we have XXV., the poet's last tribute to the greatness of the Ruler who had done so much for Rome. Some critics assign this composition to as late a year as 10; in that case it must have been a subsequent addition to the book. The earlier date seems on the whole preferable.

whether or whether are ye plunging in your career of crime? or why do ye
 feel the sheathed swords' hilts to your right hands. Has his little Latin blood
 been spilled upon the plains or on the sea not that the Roman might burn
 the haughty aisles of rival Carthage or that the ^{unconquered} Victor might descend in
 chariot the slope of the sacred way. but that in fulfilment of Parthenei prayer

HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL
 this city might perish by her own right hand. Not ~~Victor~~ or lion ever
 owned this land ODES OF HORACE. never fierce to
 their own kind. Is it blind ~~fury~~ frenzy thrusts you on or a fiercer force
 or is it ^{sin} guilt. Reply. They are silent: a pallid stain whitens their cheeks
 and their minds are stricken with ^{dull} ~~anger~~ ^{awe}. It is so. Conel falls the
 Roman Triumph.

Romans are
 pressed and
 by the weight of
 their own ^{masses}
 since the hour when
 the earth drank
 the stream of
 blood of innocent
 Romans, freight
 with curse to
 his descendants.
 Fear's pallid
 stain is white
 upon their cheeks.

Quo, quo scelesti ruitis? aut cur dexteris
 aptantur enses conditi?
 parumne campis atque Neptuno super
 fusum est Latini sanguinis,
 non, ut superbas invidae Karthaginis
 Romanus arces ureret,
 intactus aut Britannus ut descenderet
 Sacra catenatus Via,
 sed ut secundum vota Parthorum sua
 Urbs haec periret dextera?
 neque hic lupis mos nec fuit leonibus
 unquam nisi in dispar feris.
 furorne caecus, an rapit vis acrior?
 an culpa? responsum date!—
 tacent et albus ora pallor inficit
 mentesque percussae stupent.
 sic est: acerba fata Romanos agunt
 scelusque ^{curse} fraternae necis,
 ut immerentis fluxit in terram Remi
 sacer nepotibus cruor.

Campus Martius
 Porta Triumphalis
 Foot of Capitoline
 Velutrum.
 Forum Boarium
 Round Palace
 Down the Sacred
 slope of 50 x 60 ft
 to Forum there
 up a winding road
 to the Capital, and
 beginning where the
 Sacred Way ended.
 Here Capt. was taken
 to the Tullianum
 prison.

x here active; usually passive (Epode vii.)
 plunging a curse; accused. devoted to the infernal gods.

Might have been written about 100 B.C.

city which met the onrushing Marii or the Etruscan band of Thracian Porsena, nor the
valour of Capua nor fierce Spurius and the Helobrogi. faithless in days of danger,
vaunted to destroy, which twice Germany with her blue eyed warriors and Hannibal that
30 ODES OF HORACE
name of fear to parent; subdued not that city nor generation whose blood is tainted with
curse shall destroy, and with their own more shall own its soil. The barbarian
never ask me! will trample on its ashes, and the horseman shall smite Rome's streets
with his shield's echoing hoof, and the towers of Ileruvius shatterd now from
Marius. Act. 31

Altera iam teritur bellis civilibus aetas, From 48 - 31
suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit:

quam neque finitimi valuerunt perdere Marsi, 91. 88

minacis aut Etrusca Porsenae manus, C. 507

aemula nec virtus Capuae nec Spartacus acer

novisque rebus infidelis Allobrox, 212 73-71

nec fera caerulea domuit Germania pube

parentibusque abominatus Hannibal,

impia perdemus devoti sanguinis aetas,

ferisque rursus occupabitur solum.

barbarus heu cineres insistet victor et Urbem

eques sonante verberabit ungula,

quaeque carent ventis et solibus ossa Quirini,

nefas videre! dissipabit insolens.

forte quid expediat communiter aut melior pars

malis carere quaeritis laboribus:

nulla sit hac potior sententia, Phocaeorum

velut profugit exsecrata civitas

agros atque Lares patrios, habitandaque fana

apris reliquit et rapacibus lupis,

ire pedes quocunque ferent, quocunque per undas

Notus vocabit aut protervus Africus.

sic placet? an melius quis habet suadere?—secunda

ratem occupare quid moramur alite?

sed iuremus in haec: simul imis saxa renarint

vadis levata, ne redire sit nefas;

neu conversa domum pigeat dare lintea, quando

Padus Matina laverit cacumina,

in mare seu celsus procurrerit Apeninus,

novaque monstra iunxerit libidine

39

May let us swear to this: as soon as rocks rise from

with favouring oceans. Let it shall be no sin to re-

seas depth and swim to the surface. Let it shall be no sin to re-

Let it shall be no sin to re-

aere, dehinc ferro duravit secula, quorum
piis secunda vate me datur fuga.

(Epode xvi.)

III.

Lupis et agnis quanta sortito obtigit,
tecum mihi discordia est,
Ibericis peruste funibus latus
et crura dura compede.

Vesius Rufus
perhaps mentioned
in some MSS. readings.

licet superbus ambules pecunia,
fortuna non mutat genus.

videsne, Sacram metiente te Viam
cum bis trium ulnarum toga,
ut ora vertat huc et huc euntium

Antony's 12 feet long
cloak.

liberrima indignatio?

Triumviri Capitolis

"sectus flagellis hic triumphalibus
praeconis ad fastidium

Indignation of persons
not holding standing.

arat Falerni mille fundi iugera
et Appiam mannis terit,

not in Campania. S. of Latium
on road of Tuscan Sea.

sedilibusque magnus in primis eques

47. Tribune of Plebs Othone contempto sedet!

14 rows only for quid attinet tot ora navium gravi
with 100,000 seats. rostrata duci pondere

200) ambrosia contra latrones atque servilem manum,
the sea excluded. hoc, hoc tribuno militum?"

Clear reference to Sex
Pompeius. Suetonius 36.

Treaty of Misenum
looked upon in 38 - This
(Epode IV.)
is after that and before
36.

IV.

Ibis Liburnis inter alta navium,
amice, propugnacula,
paratus omne Caesaris periculum
subire, Maecenas, tuo.
quid nos, quibus te vita si superstitute
iucunda, si contra, gravis?

utrumne iussi persequemur otium,
 non dulce, ni tecum simul,
 an hunc laborem mente laturi, decet
 qua ferre non molles viros? 10
 feremus, et te vel per Alpium iuga,
 inhospitalem et Caucasum,
 vel Occidentis usque ad ultimum sinum,
 forti sequemur pectore.
 roges, tuum labore quid iuvem meo,
 imbellis ac firmus parum?
 comes minore sum futurus in metu,
 qui maior absentes habet;
 ut assidens implumibus pullis avis
 serpentium allapsus timet 20
 magis relictis, non, ut adsit, auxili
 latura plus praesentibus.
 libenter hoc et omne militabitur
 bellum in tuae spem gratiae,
 non ut juvencis illigata pluribus
 aratra nitantur mea,
 pecusve Calabris ante sidus fervidum
 Lucana mutet pascuis,
 neque ut superni villa candens Tusculi
 Circaea tangat moenia. 30
 satis superque me benignitas tua
 ditavit: haud paravero,
 quod aut avarus ut Chremes terra premam,
 discinctus aut perdam nepos.

(*Epode i.*)

V. ✓

Lesser Ischiodad
 2nd Phœnicia (complete)
 Glyconic

O navis, referent in mare te novi
 fluctus! o quid agis? fortiter occupa
 portum! nonne vides, ut
 nudum remigio latus
 et malus celeri saucius Africo
 antennaeque gemant, ac sine funibus
 vix durare carinae
 possint imperiosius
 aequor? non tibi sunt integra lintea,
 non di, quos iterum pressa voces malo, 10
 quamvis Pontica pinus,
 silvae filia nobilis,
 iactes et genus et nomen inutile,
 nil pictis timidus navita puppibus
 fidit. tu, nisi ventis
 debes ludibrium, cave.
 nuper sollicitum quae mihi taedium,
 nunc desiderium curaue non levis,
 interfusa nitentes
 vites aequora Cycladas. 20

(Odes I. xiv.)

VI.

Quando repostum Caecubum ad festas dapes
 victore laetus Caesare
 tecum sub alta—sic Iovi gratum—domo,
 beate Maecenas, bibam,
 sonante mixtum tibiis carmen lyra,
 hac Dorium, illis barbarum?
 ut nuper, actus cum freto Neptunius
 dux fugit ustis navibus,

minatus Urbi vincla, quae detraxerat
 servis amicus perfidis. 10
 Romanus, eheu!—posterī negabitis—
 emancipatus feminae
 fert vallum et arma miles et spadonibus
 servire rugosis potest,
 interque signa turpe militaria
 sol adspicit conopium.
 ad hunc frementes, verterunt bis mille equos
 Galli, canentes Caesarem,
 hostiliumque navium portu latent
 puppes sinistrorsum citae. 20
 io Triumphe, tu moraris aureos
 currus et intactas boves?
 io Triumphe, nec Iugurthino parem
 bello reportasti ducem,
 neque Africanum, cui super Karthaginem
 virtus sepulchrum condidit.
 terra marique victus hostis punico
 lugubre mutavit sagum.
 aut ille centum nobilem Cretam urbibus
 ventis iturus non suis, 30
 exercitatus aut petit Syrtes Noto,
 aut fertur incerto mari.
 capaciores affer huc, puer, scyphos
 et Chia vina aut Lesbia;
 vel, quod fluentem nauseam coërceat,
 metire nobis Caecubum:
 curam metumque Caesaris rerum iuvat
 dulci Lyaeo solve.

(Epode ix.)

Metre Common.

✓ VII.

Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero
pulsanda tellus, nunc Saliaribus

ornare pulvinar deorum

? ← tempus erat dapibus, sodales.

antehac nefas depromere Caecubum

cellis avitis, dum Capitolio

regina dementes ruinas

funus et imperio parabat

? | contaminato cum gregē turpium

morbo virorum, quidlibet impotens (sui) 10

sperare fortunaque dulci

ebria. sed minuit furorem

vix una sospes navis ab ignibus,

mentemque lymphatam Mareotico

redegit in veros timores

Caesar, ab Italia volentem

remis adurgens, accipiter velut

molles columbas aut leporem citus

venator in campis nivalis

Thessaly Haemoniae, daret ut catenis . 20

fatale monstrum: quae generosius

perire quaerens nec muliebriter

expavit ense nec latentes

classe cita reparavit oras.

ausa et iacentem visere regiam

voltu sereno, fortis et asperas

tractare serpentes, ut atrum

corpore combiberet venenum,

deliberata morte ferocior,
 saevis Liburnis scilicet invidens
 privata deduci superbo
 non humilis mulier triumpho.

30

(Odes I. xxxvii.)

VIII.

Iam satis terris nivis atque dirae
 grandinis misit Pater et rubente
 dextera sacras iaculatus arces
 terruit Urbem,

Sapphic Strophe

Seser Sapphics

Adone

terrui gentes, grave ne rediret
 saeculum Pyrrhae nova monstra questae,
 omne cum Proteus pecus egit altos
 visere montes,

piscium et summa genus haesit ulmo,
 nota quae sedes fuerat columbis,
 et superiecto pavidae natarunt
 aequore damae.

10

vidimus flavum Tiberim retortis
 litore Etrusco violenter undis
 ire deiectum monumenta regis
 templaque Vestae;

Palace of Numa Regia

Iliae dum se nimium querenti
 iactat ultorem, vagus et sinistra
 labitur ripa Iove non probante u-
 xorius amnis.

wife led

20

audiet cives acuisse ferrum,
 quo graves Persae melius perirent,
 audiet pugnas vitio parentum
 rara iuventus.

Parthians

and

quem vocet divum populus ruentis
 imperi rebus? prece qua fatigent
 virgines sanctae minus audientem
 carmina Vestam?

no longer

hymns

cui dabit partes scelus expiandi
 Iuppiter? tandem venias precamur 30
 nube candentes umeros amictus
 augur Apollo;
 sive tu mavis, Erycina ridens,
 quam Iocus circum volat et Cupido;
 sive neglectum genus et nepotes
 respicis auctor,
 heu nimis longo satiate ludo, *mens*
 quem iuvat clamor galeaeque leves,
 acer et Mauri peditis cruentum
 vultus in hostem; 40
 sive mutata iuvenem figura
 ales in terris imitaris almae
manus filius Maiae, patiens vocari
 Caesaris ultor:
 serus in caelum redeas diuque
 laetus intersis populo Quirini,
 neve te nostris vitiis iniquum
 ocior aura
 tollat; hic magnos potius triumphos,
 hic ames dici pater atque princeps, 50
 neu sinas Medos equitare inultos,
 te duce, Caesar.

(Odes i. ii.)

✓ IX.

O saepe mecum tempus in ultimum
 deducte Bruto militiae duce,
 quis te redonavit Quiritem
 dis patriis Italoque caelo,

la carie

Synge's

ODES OF HORACE.

unfused 39

//

Pompei meorum prime sodalium?
cum quo morantem saepe diem mero
frangi coronatus nitentes

frango.

malobathro Syrio capillos.
tecum Philippos et celerem fugam
sensi relictā non bene parmula,
cum fracta virtus et minaces
turpe solum tetigere mento.

10

sed me per hostes Mercurius celer
denso paventem sustulit aëre;
te rursus in bellum resorbens
unda fretis tulit aestuosis.

ergo obligatam redde Iovi dapem
longaque fessum militia latus

votis

depone sub lauru mea nec
parce cadis tibi destinatis.

laid up for your return 20

oblivioso levī Massico
ciboria exple; funde capacibus

unguenta de conchis. quis udo
deproperare apio coronas
curatve myrto? quem Venus arbitrum
dicet bibendi? Non ego sanius
bacchabor Edonis: recepto
dulce mihi furere est amico.

(Odes II. vii.)

X.

Motum ex Metello consule civicum
bellicque causas et vitia et modos
ludumque Fortunae gravesque
principum amicitias et arma

nondum expiatis uncta cruoribus,
periculosae plenum opus aleae,
tractas et incedis per ignes
suppositos cineri doloso.
paullum severae Musa tragoediae
desit theatris: mox ubi publicas
res ordinaris, grande munus
Cecropio repetes cothurno,
insigne maestis praesidium reis
et consulenti, Pollio, curiae,
cui laurus aeternos honores
Delmatico peperit triumpho.
iam nunc minaci murmure cornuum
perstringis aures, iam litui strepunt,
iam fulgor armorum fugaces
terret equos equitumque voltus.
audire magnos iam videor duces
non indecoro pulvere sordidos,
et cuncta terrarum subacta
praeter atrocem animum Catonis.
Iuno et deorum quisquis amicior
Afris inulta cesserat impotens
tellure victorum nepotes
rettulit inferias Iugurthae.
quis non Latino sanguine pinguior
campus sepulcris impia proelia
testatur auditumque Medis
Hesperiae sonitum ruinae?
qui gurges aut quae flumina lugubris
ignara belli? quod mare Dauniae
non decoloravere caedes?
quae caret ora cruore nostro?

10

20

30

sed ne relictis, Musa procax, iocis
 Ceae retractes munera neniae:
 mecum Dionaeo sub antro
 quaere modos leviori plectro. 40
 (*Odes* II. i.)

XI.

Iam pauca aratro iugera regiae
 moles relinquent, undique latius
 extenta visentur Lucrino
 stagna lacu, platanusque caelebs
 evincet ulmos; tum violaria et
 myrtus et omnis copia narium
 spargent olivetis odorem
 fertilibus domino priori;
 tum spissa ramis laurea fervidos
 excludet ictus. non ita Romuli 10
 praescriptum et intonsi Catonis
 auspiciis veterumque norma.
 privatus illis census erat brevis,
 commune magnum: nulla decempedis
 metata privatis opacam
 porticus excipiebat Arcton,
 nec fortuitum spernere cespitem
 leges sinebant, oppida publico
 sumptu iubentes et deorum
 templa novo decorare saxo. 20
 (*Odes* II. xv.)

XII.

Odi profanum vulgus et arceo;
 favete linguis: carmina non prius ?
 audita Musarum sacerdos
 virginibus puerisque canto.

regum timendorum in propriis greges,
reges in ipsos imperium est Iovis
clari Giganteo triumpho,

cuncta supercilio moventis.

est, ut viro vir latius ordinet
arbusta sulcis, hic generosior

10

descendat in Campum petitor,

melior meliorque

moribus hic meliorque fama

contendat, illi turba clientium

sit maior: aequa lege Necessitas

sortitur insignes et imos;

omne capax movet urna nomen.

destrictus ensis cui super impia

cervice pendet, non Sicalae dapes

dulcem elaborabunt saporem,

20

non avium citharaeque cantus

somnum reducent. somnus agrestium

lenis virorum non humiles domos

fastidit umbrosamque ripam,

non Zephyris agitata Tempe.

desiderantem quod satis est neque

tumultuosum sollicitat mare,

nec saevus Arcturi cadentis

impetus aut orientis Haedi,

non verberatae grandine vineae

fundusque mendax, arbore nunc aquas

30

culpante, nunc torrentia agros

sidera, nunc hiemes iniquas.

contracta pisces aequora sentiunt

iactis in altum molibus; huc frequens

into the deep

caementa demittit redemptor

cum famulis dominusque terrae

fastidiosus; sed Timor et Minae

scandunt eodem, quo dominus, neque

decedit aerata triremi et
 post equitem sedet atra Cura. *maled* 40
 quod si dolentem nec Phrygius lapis
 nec purpurarum sidere clarior *hypallage*
delenit usus nec Falerna
 vitis Achaemeniumque costum, *nard, perfume*
 cur invidendis postibus et novo
 sublime ritu moliar atrium?
 cur valle permutem Sabina
divitias operosiores?

(Odes III. i.)

XIII.

a small estate

Angustam amice pauperiem pati
 robustus acri militia puer *young Roman*
 condiscat et Parthos feroces
 vexet eques metuendus hasta,
 vitamque sub divo et trepidis agat
 in rebus. illum ex moenibus hosticis *See i. a Roman*
 matrona bellantis tyranni
 prospiciens et adulta virgo
 suspiret, Eheu, ne rudis agminum
sponsus lacessat regius asperum 10
 tactu leonem, quem cruenta
 per medias rapit ira caedes.
dulce et decorum est pro patria mori:
 mors et fugacem persequitur virum,
 nec parcit imbellis iuventae 11
poplitibus timidoque tergo.
brues *brue* *maled* *at* *distans*
virtus repulsae nescia sordidae
 intaminatis fulget honoribus,
 nec sumit aut ponit securae
arbitrio popularis aurae. 20

virtus recludens immeritis mori
 caelum negata tentat iter via,
 coetusque vulgares et udam
 spernit humum fugiente penna.
 est et fideli tuta silentio
 merces: vetabo, qui Cereris sacrum
 vulgarit arcanæ, sub isdem
 sit trabibus fragilemve mecum
 solvat phaselon; saepe Diespiter
 neglectus incesto addidit integrum:
raro antecedentem scelestum
 deseruit pede Poena claudo.

secret

?

bont

30

— *lame, slow*
 (Odes III. ii.)

XIV.

Iustum et tenacem propositi virum
 non civium ardor prava iubentium,
 non voltus instantis tyranni
 mente quatit solida neque Auster,
 dux inquieti turbidus Hadriae,
 nec fulminantis magna manus Iovis:
 si fractus illabatur orbis,
 impavidum ferient ruinae.
 hac arte Pollux et vagus Hercules
 enisus arces attigit igneas,
 quos inter Augustus recumbens
 purpureo bibit ore nectar.
 hac te merentem, Bacche pater, tuae
 vexere tigres indocili iugum
 collo trahentes; hac Quirinus
 Martis equis Acheronta fugit,

10

velo.

gratum elocuta consiliantibus

Iunone Divis: Ilion, Ilion

fatalis incestusque iudex

et mulier peregrina vertit

20

in pulverem, ex quo destituit deos

mercede pacta Laomedon, mihi

castaeque damnatum Minervae

cum populo et duce fraudulento.

iam nec Lacaenae splendet adulterae

famosus hospes nec Priami domus

periura pugnaces Achivos

Hectoreis opibus refringit,

nostrisque ductum seditionibus

bellum resedit. protinus et graves

30

iras et invisum nepotem,

Troica quem peperit sacerdos,

Rha Siberia

Marti redonabo; illum ego lucidas

inire sedes, ducere nectaris

to quass.

sucos et adscribi quietis

ordinibus patiar deorum.

dummodo dum longus inter saeviat Ilion

Romamque pontus, qualibet exsules

in parte regnanto beati;

dum Priami Paridisque busto

40

insultet armentum et catulos ferae

celent inultae, stet Capitolium

fulgens triumphatisque possit

Roma ferox dare iura Medis.

horrenda late nomen in ultimas

extendat oras, qua medius liquor

secernit Europen ab Afro,

qua tumidus rigat arva Nilus,

aurum irrepertum et sic melius situm

cum terra celat, spernere fortior

50

quam cogere humanos in usus
 omne sacrum rapiente dextra.
 quicumque mundo terminus obstitit,
 hunc tanget armis, visere gestiens,
 ? qua parte debacchentur ignes,
 ' qua nebulae pluviique rores.
 sed bellicosus fata Quiritibus
 hac lege dico, ne nimium pii
 rebusque fidentes avitae
 tecta velint reparare Troiae. 60
 Troiae renascens alite lugubri
 fortuna tristi clade iterabitur,
 ducente victrices catervas
 coniuge me Iovis et sorore.
 ter si resurgat murus aëneus
 auctore Phoebo, ter pereat meis
 excisus Argivis, ter uxor
 capta virum puerosque ploret.
 non hoc iocosae conveniet lyrae:
 quo, Musa, tendis? desine pervicax 70
 referre sermones deorum et
 magna modis tenuare parvis.
 (Odes III. iii.)

XV.

Descende caelo et dic age tibia
 regina longum Calliope melos,
 seu voce nunc mavis acuta,
 seu fidibus citharaque Phoebi.
 auditis, an me ludit amabilis
 insania? audire et videor pios
 errare per lucos, amoenae
 quos et aquae subeunt et aerae.

me fabulosae Vulture in Apulo

altr^{icis} extra limen Apuliae

10

ludo fatigatumque somno

fronde nova puerum palumbes

texere, mirum quod foret omnibus,

quicunque celsae nidum Acherontiae

saltusque Bantinos et arvum

pingue tenent humilis Forenti,

ut tuto ab atris corpore viperis

dormirem et ursis, ut premerer sacra

lauroque collataque myrto,

non sine dis animosus infans.

vester, Camenae, vester in arduos

tollor Sabinos, seu mihi frigidum

Praeneste seu Tibur supinum

seu liquidae placuere Baiae.

vestris amicum fontibus et choris

non me Philippis versa acies retro,

devota non exstinxit arbos,

nec Sicula Palinurus unda.

ut^{cunque} mecum vos eritis, libens

insanientem navita Bosporum

tentabo et urentes harenas

litoris Assyrii viator;

visam Britannos hospitibus feros

et laetum equino sanguine Concanum,

visam pharetratos Gelonos

et Scythicum inviolatus amnem.

vos Caesarem altum, militia simul

fessas cohortes abdidit oppidis,

finire quaerentem labores

Pierio recreatis antro.

vos lene consilium et datis et dato

gaudetis, almae. scimus, ut impios

40

Titanas immanemque turmam
 fulmine sustulerit caduco, *quid fallax*
 qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat *govern*
 ventosum, et urbes regnaque tristia
 divosque mortalesque turbas *lists*
 imperio regit unus aequo.

insolent magnum illa terrorem intulerat Iovi
 fidens iuventus horrida brachiis, 50
 fratresque tendentes opaco

Pelion imposuisse Olympo.
 sed quid Typhöeus et validus Mimas,
 aut quid minaci Porphyryon statu,
 quid Rhoetus evulsisque truncis
 Enceladus iaculator audax
 contra sonantem Palladis aegida
 possent ruentes? hinc avidus stetit

Volcanus, hinc matrona Iuno et
 nunquam humeris positurus arcum, 60
 qui rore puro Castaliae lavit
 crines solutos, qui Lyciae tenet

dumeta natalemque silvam,
 Delius et Patareus Apollo. *Patara - Lycia*
 vis consilii expers mole ruit sua:
 vim temperatam di quoque provehunt *promote*
 in maius; idem odere vires
 omne nefas animo moventes. *meditates*

testis mearum centimanus Gyas
 sententiarum, notus et integrae 70
 tentator Orion Dianae,

virginea domitus sagitta.
 iniecta monstribus Terra dolet suis
 maeretque partus fulmine luridum
 missos ad Orcum; nec peredit
 impositam celer ignis Aetnam,

incontinentis nec Tityi iecur
 reliquit ales, nequitiae additus
 custos; amatorem trecentae
 Pirithoum cohibent catenae.

80

(Odes III. iv.)

XVI.

Gnomae.
 Caelo tonantem credidimus Iovem
 regnare: praesens divus habebitur

Augustus adiectis Britannis
 imperio gravibusque Persis.

milesne Crassi coniuge barbara
 turpis maritus vixit et hostium—

pro curia inversique mores!—

consenuit socerorum in armis
 sub rege Medo Marsus et Apulus,
 anciliorum et nominis et togae

oblitus aeternaeque Vestae,

incolumi Iove et urbe Roma?
 hoc caverat mens provida Reguli
 dissentientis condicionibus

foedis et exemplo trahentiſ)

perniciem veniens in aevum,
 si non periret immiserabilis
 captiva pubes. 'signa ego Punicis
 adfixa delubris et arma

dat militibus sine caede,' dixit,
 'derepta vidi, vidi ego civium
 retorta tergo brachia libero

portasque non clausas et arva

Marte coli populata nostro.

(999)

coline

D

*on earth**Preparation for Ex. 10. B. 10**discipline corrupt*

10

Consul 256 B.C.

20

ransomed.
 auro repensus scilicet acrior
 miles redibit. *dishonour* flagitio additis
 damnum: neque amissos colores
 lana refert medicata fūco, *dye*
 nec vera virtus, cum semel excidit,
 curat reponi deterioribus. *degenerate* 30
 si pugnat extricata densis

stay cerva plagis, erit ille fortis, *toils*
 qui perfidis se credidit hostibus,
 et Marte Poenos proteret altero, *trample down*
 qui lora restrictis lacertis *army*
 sensit iners timuitque mortem. *timidly*

hic, unde vitam sumeret, inscius *to what he was helping*
 pacem duello miscuit. o pudor!

o magna Karthago, probrosis
 altior Italiae ruinis!' 40

called on fertur pudicae coniugis osculum
 parvosque natos, ut capitis minor, *condemned*
 ab se removisse et virilem

scam torvus humi posuisse voltum:
 donec labantes consilio patres *wavering*
 firmaret auctor nunquam alias dato,
 interque maerentes amicos

and yet egregius properaret exsul.
atqui sciebat quae sibi barbarus *him all the while*
 tortor pararet; non aliter tamen 50
 dimovit obstantes propinquos *in perfect part.*
 et populum reditus morantem,

ase do cided quam si clientum longa negotia
 diiudicata lite relinqueret,
 tendens Venafranos in agros *Non Campanum*
 aut Lacedaemonium Tarentum.

XVII.

crimes

though innocent
 Delicta maiorum immeritus lues, *atone for*
 Romane, donec templa refeceris

aedesque labentes *stagnans* deorum et *labor*
 foeda nigro simulacra fumo.

? (dis te minorem quod geris, imperas) *in so far as*

Scan hinc omne principium, huc refer exitum.

di multa neglecti dederunt

Italy Hesperiae mala luctuosae.

iam bis Monaeses et Pacori manus ?

non auspicatos contudit impetus

10

nostros et adiecisse praedam

torquibus exiguis renidet.

paene occupatam seditionibus

delevit Urbem Dacus et Aethiops, *Adel Cleopatra*

hic classe formidatus, ille

missilibus melior sagittis.

fecunda culpa secula nuptias

primum inquinavere et genus et domos; *laure*

hoc fonte derivata clades

in patriam populumque fluxit.

20

motus doceri gaudet Ionicos

matura virgo et fingitur artibus.

iam nunc et incestos amores

de tenero meditatur ungui

mox iuniores quaerit adulteros ?

inter mariti vina neque eligit,

cui donet impermissa raptim

gaudia luminibus remotis;

sed iussa coram non sine conscio

surgit marito, seu vocat institor

30

seu navis Hispanae magister,

dedecorum pretiosus emptor./

non his iuventus orta parentibus
 infecit aequor sanguine Punico,
 Pyrrhumque et ingentem cecidit
 Antiochum Hannibalemque dirum;
 sed rusticorum mascula militum
 proles, Sabellis docta ligonibus
 versare glebas et severae
 matris ad arbitrium recisos
 portare fustes, sol ubi montium
 mutaret umbras et iuga demeret
 bobus fatigatis, amicum
 tempus agens abeunte curru.
 damnosa quid non imminuit dies?
 aetas parentum peior avis tulit
 nos nequiores, mox daturos
 progeniem vitiosiore.

(Odes III. vi.)

XVIII.

Intactis opulentior
 thesauris Arabum et divitis Indiæ,
 caementis licet occupes
 Tyrrenum omne tuis et mare Apulicum,
 si figit adamantinos
 summis verticibus dira Necessitas
 clavos, non animum metu,
 non mortis laqueis expedit caput.
 campestris melius Scythae,
 quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos, 10
 vivunt, et rigidi Getae,
 immetata quibus iugera liberas
 fruges et Cererem ferunt,
 nec cultura placet longior annua,

defunctumque laboribus
 aequali recreat sorte vicarius.
 illic matre carentibus
 privignis mulier temperat innocens,
 nec dotata regit virum
 coniux nec nitido fudit adultero. *slack* 20
 dos est magna parentium
 virtus et metuens alterius viri
 certo foedere castitas; *bond*
 et peccare nefas aut pretium est mori. (*si peccant*)
 o quisquis volet impias
 caedes et rabiem tollere civicam, *civil strife*.
 si quaeret PATER URBIUM
 subscribi statuis, indomitam audeat *ransom*
little refrenare licentiam,
 clarus postgenitis: quatenus—heu nefas!— 30
 ? | virtutem incolumem odimus, *in ite living*
 | sublatam ex oculis quaerimus invidi. *judging*
 | quid tristes querimoniae, *profit*
 | si non supplicio culpa reciditur;
 | quid leges sine moribus
 | 'vanae proficiunt, si neque fervidis
 | pars inclusa caloribus
 | mundi nec Boreae finitimum latus *quater*
 | durataeque solo nives
 | *trader* mercatores abigunt, horrida callidi *stiffly* 40
 | vincunt aequora navitae,
 | magnum pauperies opprobrium iubet *agorized also*
 | *anything doing* quidvis et facere et pati, *reproach*
 | virtutisque viam deserit arduae?
 | vel nos in Capitolium,
 | quo clamor vocat et turba faventium, *partisans*
 | vel nos in mare proximum
 | gemmas et lapides, aurum et inutile,
 | *jewels & precious stones*

summi materiem mali,
mittamus, scelorum si bene paenitet. 50

gerens
gerens
eradenda cupidinis
pravi sunt elementa et tenerae nimis *overundant*
mentes asperioribus

moulded
formandae studiis. nescit equo rudis
haerere ingenuus puer *slough*
venarique timet, ludere doctior,
seu Graeco iubeas trocho
seu malis vetita legibus alea,
cum periura patris fides

partner
consortem socium fallat et hospitem 60
indignoque pecuniam

here
heredi properet. scilicet improbae *graceless*
crescunt divitiae; tamen
curtae nescio quid semper abest rei.

(Odes III. xxiv.)

XIX.

O diva, gratum quae regis Antium,
praesens vel imo tollere de gradu

Servius Tullius
mortale corpus vel superbos
vertere funeribus triumphos, *Amilium Postumum*
te pauper ambit sollicita prece
ruris colonus, te dominam aequoris,
quicumque Bithyna lacessit

Carpathium pelagus carina.
te Dacus asper, te profugi Scythae *roving*
urbesque gentesque et Latium ferox 10
regumque matres barbarorum et
purpurei metuunt tyranni,
iniurioso ne pede proruas
stantem columnam, neu populus frequens

ad arma cessantes, ad arma
 concitet imperiumque frangat.
 te semper anteit saeva Necessitas,
clavos trabales et cuneos manu
 gestans aëna, nec severus
uncus abest liquidumque plumbum. 20
 te Spes et albo rara Fides colit
velata panno nec comitem abnegat, scotus
 utcumque mutata potentes
 veste domos inimica linquis.
 at vulgus infidum et meretrix retro charlot
 periura cedit, diffugiunt cadis
 to the seas. cum faece siccatis amici
 ferre iugum pariter dolosi. treacherous
 serves iturum Caesarem in ultimos
 orbis Britannos et iuvenum recens 30
examen Eois timendum
partibus Oceanoque rubro.
 eheu cicatricum et sceleris pudet
 ? fratrumque. quid nos dura refugimus
 aetas? quid intactum nefasti impious
 liquimus? unde manum iuventus
 metu deorum continuit? quibus
 pepercit aris? o utinam nova
 annel incude diffingas retusum in clipeum ?
 Massagetas Arabasque ferrum! 40
 (Odes I. xxxv.)

XX.

Quem virum aut heroâ lyra vel acri should
 tibia sumis celebrare, Clio?
 quem deum? cuius recinet iocosa
 nomen imago : echo
 vocis

aut in umbrosis Heliconis oris
aut super Pindo gelidove in Haemo?

unde vocalem temere insecutae

*hell - melle
of their own accord*

Orphea silvae,

arte materna rapidos morantem

conser fluminum lapsus celeresque ventos,

10

blandum et auritas fidibus canoris

and then ears of lead

ducere quercus.

lingual

quid prius dicam solitis parentis

laudibus, qui res hominum ac deorum,

qui mare ac terras variisque mundum

ex quo temperat horis?

more rapid

unde nil maius generatur ipso,

nec viget quidquam simile aut secundum:

proximos illi tamen occupavit

Pallas honores.

20

proeliis audax neque te silebo

Bacchus

Liber et saevis inimica Virgo

Diana

beluis nec te metuende certa

uncertain

Phoebe sagitta.

dicam et Alciden puerosque Ladae,

Castor & Pollux

hunc equis, illum superare pugnis

nobilem; quorum simul alba nautis

stella refulsit,

defluit saxis agitatus humor,

concidunt venti fugiuntque nubes,

30

et minax—quod sic voluere—ponto

unda recumbit.

Romulum post hos prius, an quietum

Pompili regnum memorem, an superbos

Tarquini fascēs, dubito, an Catonis

nobile letum.

Regulum et Scauros animaeque magnae

prodigum Paullum superante Poeno

gratus insigni referam Camena
 Fabriciumque.

40

hunc et incomp^{ti}s Curium capillis
 utilem bello tulit et Camillum
 saeva paupertas et avitus apto
 cum lare fundus.

crescit occulto velut arbor aevo
 fama Marcelli; micat inter omnes
 Iulium sidus velut inter ignes
 luna minores.

*ch. of description
 delightful*

gentis humanae pater atque custos
orte Saturno, tibi cura magni
 Caesaris fatis data: tu secundo

with C. next 59. the

Caesare regnes.

ille, seu Parthos Latio imminentes
 egerit iusto domitos triumpho,
 sive subiectos Orientis orae

well-earned

Seras et Indos,

potent
 te minor latum reget aequus orbem:
 tu gravi curru quaties Olympum,
 tu parum castis inimica mittes
 fulmina lucis.

60

(Odes i. xii.)

XXI.

Qualem minist^{rum} fulminis alitem,
 cui rex deorum regnum in aves vagas
 permisit expertus fidelem

?

Iuppiter in Ganymede flavo,
olim iuventas et patrius vigor
 nido laborum propulit inscium,
 vernique iam nimbis remotis
 insolitos docuere nisus

concord H by sag 6

venti paventem, mox in ovilia
 demisit hostem vividus impetus, 10
 nunc in reluctantes dracones
 egit amor dapis atque pugnae;
 qualemve laetis caprea pascuis
 intenta fulvae matris ab ubere }
 iam lacte depulsum leonem
 dente novo peritura vidit:
 videre Raetis bella sub Alpibus
 Drusum gerentem Vindelici;—quibus
 mos unde deductus per omne } ? 20
 tempus Amazonia securi
 dextras obarmet, quaerere distuli;
 nec scire fas est omnia;—sed diu
 lateque victrices catervae
 consiliis iuvenis revictae *feasted in their turn*
 sensere, quid mens rite, quid indoles
 nutrita faustis sub pēnētralibus
 posset, quid Augusti paternus
 in pueros animus Nerones.
 fortes creantur fortibus et bonis;
 est in iuvcnis, est in equis patrum 30
 virtus, neque imbellem feroces
 progenerant aquilae columbam;
 doctrina sed vim promovet insitam
 rectique cultus pectora roborant; 15, *in shield*
 | utcunque defecere mores,
 indecorant bene nata culpa. *is noble nature*
 quid debeas, o Roma, Neronibus,
 testis Metaurum flumen et Hasdrubal
 devictus et pulcher fugatis
 ille dies Latio tenebris, 40
 qui primus alma risit adorea, *in Italy*
 dirus per urbes Afer ut Italas

could do

ceu flamma per taedas vel Euris
 per Siculas equitavit undas.
 post hoc secundis usque laboribus
 Romana pubes crevit, et impio
 vastata Poenorum tumultu
 fana deos habuere rectos,
 dixitque tandem perfidus Hannibal:
 ‘cervi, luporum praeda rapacium, 50
 sectamur ultro, quos opimus *splendid*
 fallere et effugere est triumphus. *orj moun.*
 gens, quae cremato fortis ab Ilio
 iactata Tuscis aequoribus, sacra
 natosque maturosque patres
 pertulit Ausonias ad urbes, *of Italy*
 duris ut ilex tonsa bipennibus
 nigrae feraci frondis in Algido, *gen. of respect.*
 per damna, per caedes ab ipso
 ducit opes animumque ferro. 60
 non Hydra secto corpore firmior
 vinci dolentem crevit in Herculem,
 monstrumve submisere Colchi
 maius Echioniaeve Thebae.
 merses profundo, pulchrior evenit;
 luctere, multa proruet integrum
 cum laude victorem geretque
 proelia coniugibus loquenda.
 ? Karthagini iam non ego nuntios
 mittam superbos. occidit, occidit 70
 spes omnis et fortuna nostri
 nominis, Hasdrubale interempto’.
 nil Claudiae non perficient manus,
 quas et benigno numine Iupiter
 defendit et curae sagaces
 expediunt per acuta belli. (*Odes* iv. iv.)

XXII.

DAIF

Solitude

Quae cura patrum quaeve Quiritium
 plenis honorum muneribus tuas,

Auguste, virtutes in aevum

per titulos memoresque fastos *lasting records*
 aeternet, o, qua sol habitabiles

illustrat oras, maxime principum?

et te

quem legis expertes Latinae

Padoptis...

Vindelici didicere nuper,

quid Marte posses; milite nam tuo

Drusus Genaunos, implacidum genus, *merciless* IC

Brennosque veloces et arces

Alpibus impositas tremendis

deiecit acer plus vice simplici;

maior Neronum mox grave proelium

commisit immanesque Raetos

auspiciis pepulit secundis,

spectandus in certamine Martio

devota morti pectora liberae

quantis fatigaret ruinis;

antecedent in rel.

indomitas prope qualis undas

20

exercet Auster, Pleiadam choro

clearing

scindente nubes, impiger hostium *indofatigable*

vexare turmas et fremmentem *neighing*

mittere equum medios per ignes.

inversion

sic tauriformis volvitur Aufidus,

qui regna Dauni praefluit Apuli,

cum saevit horrendamque cultis

diluvium meditatatur agris,

ut barbarorum Claudius agmina

mail clad

ferrata vasto diruit impetu

primosque et extremos metendo

moving down 30

stravit humum sine clade victor,

te copias, te consilium et tuos
and prae**ben**te **di**vos. nam tibi quo die *an*
 portus **Al**ex**an**dr**ea** sup**ple**x
 et vacuam patefecit aulam, *death of Cleopatra*
 fortuna lustr**o** prospera tertio
 belli secun**do**s reddidit exitus,
 laudemque et optatum peractis
 imperiis decus arrogavit. *bestowed* 40
 te **Cant**aber non ante domabilis
 Medusque et Indus, te profugus Scythes
 miratur, o tutela praesens *guardian*
 Italiae dominaeque Romae. *fountain-head*
 te, fontium qui celat origines
 Nilusque et Ister, te rapidus Tigris,
 te belluosus qui remotis
 obstrepi**t** Oceanus Britannis,
 te non paventis funera Galliae
 duraeque tellus audit Hiberiae, 50
 te caede gaudentes Sygambri *bloodthirsty*
 compositis venerantur armis.
laying aside their arms (Odes IV. xiv.

XXIII.

all absolute
 Divis orte bonis, optime Romulae *Escalpiad*
 cūstos gentis, abes iam nimium diu;
 maturum reditum pollicitus patrum
 sancto concilio redi.
 lucem redde tuae, dux bone, patriae;
 instar veris enim voltus ubi tuus
 affulsit populo, gratior it dies
 et soles melius nitent.

ut mater iuvenem, quem Notus invido
 flatu Carpathii trans maris aequora 10
 cunctantem spatio longius annuo
 dulci distinet a domo,
 votis ominibusque et precibus vocat,
 curvo nec faciem litore dimovet;
 sic desideriis icta fidelibus
 quaerit patria Caesarem.
 tutus bos etenim rura perambulat,
 nutrit rura Ceres almaque Faustitas,
 pacatum volitant per mare navitae,
 culpari metuit Fides; *dreads infernal action* 20
 nullis polluitur casta domus stupris,
 mos et lex maculosum edomuit nefas,
 laudantur simili prole puerperae,
 culpam poena premit comes.
 quis Parthum paveat, quis gelidum Scythen,
 quis Germania quos horrida parturit
 fetus, incolumi Caesare? quis ferae
 bellum curet Hiberiae?
immediated condit quisque diem collibus in suis,
 et vitem viduas ducit ad arbores; 30
 hinc ad vina redit laetus et alteris
 te mensis adhibet deum; *not domestic converse*
 te multa prece, te prosequitur mero
 defuso pateris, et Laribus tuum
 miscet numen, uti Graecia Castoris
 et magni memor Herculis. *dispute*
 ‘longas o utinam, dux bone, verias
 praestes Hesperiae!’ dicimus integro
 sicci mane die, dicimus uvidi,
 cum sol Oceano subest. 40

(Odes iv. v.)

XXIV.

Pindarum quisquis studet aemulari,
 Iule, ceratis ope Daedalea
 nititur pennis vitreo daturus
 nomina pōto.

monte decurrens velut amnis, imbres
 quem super notas aluere ripas,
 fervet immensusque ruit profundo

 Pindarus ore,
 laurea donandus Apollinari,
 seu per audaces nova dithyrambos
 verba devolvit numerisque fertur
 lege solutis;

10

seu deos regesve canit, deorum
 sanguinem, per quos cecidere iusta
 morte Centauri, cecidit tremendae
 flamma Chimaerae;
 sive quos Elea domum reducit
 palma caelestes pugilemve equumve
 dicit et centum potiore signis
 munere donat,
 flebili sponsae iuvenemve raptum
 plorat et vires animumque moresque
 aureos educit in astra nigroque
 invidet Orco.

20

multa Dircaeum levat aura cycnum,
 tendit, Antoni, quoties in altos
 nubium tractus. ego apis Matinae
 more modoque

grata carpentis thyma per laborem
 plurimum circa nemus uvidique
 Tiburis ripas operosa parvus
 carmina fingo.

30

concines maiore poëta plectro
 Caesarem, quandoque trahet feroces
 per sacrum clivum merita decorus
 fronde Sygambros;
 quo nihil maius meliusve terris
 fata donavere bonique divi
 nec dabunt, quamvis redeant in aurum
 tempora priscum.

40

concines laetosque dies et Urbis
 publicum ludum super impetrato
 fortis Augusti reditu forumque
 litibus orbum.

tum meae, si quid loquar audiendum,
 vocis accedet bona pars; et, 'O sol
 pulcher! o laudande!' canam, recepto
 Caesare felix.

teque, dum procedit, 'io Triumphe,'
 non semel dicemus, 'io Triumphe,'
 civitas omnis dabimusque divi
 thura benignis.

50

te decem tauri totidemque vaccae,
 me tener solvet vitulus, relictæ
 matre qui largis iuvenescit herbis
 in mea vota,

fronte curvatos imitatus ignes
 tertium lunæ referentis ortum,
 qua notam duxit, niveus videri,
 cetera fulvus.

60

(Odes iv. ii.)

XXV.

Phoebus volentem proelia me loqui
 victas et urbes increpuit lyra,

ne parva Tyrrhenum per aequor
 vela dārem. tua, Caesar, aetas

deed of daring

fruges et agris rettulit uberes
 et signa nostro restituit Iovi
 dērepta Parthorum superbis
 postibus et vacuum duellis
 Ianum Quirini clausit et ordinem
 rectum evaganti frena licentiae
 iniecit emovitque culpas
 et veteres revocavit artes,
 per quas Latinum nomen et Italae
 crevere vires famaque et imperi
 porrecta maiestas ad ortus
 solis ab Hesperio cubili.
 custode rerum Caesare non furor
 civilis aut vis exiget otium,
 non ira, quae proculdit enses
 et miseras inimicat urbes.
 non, qui profundum Danubium bibunt,
 edicta rumpent Iulia, non Getae,
 non Seres infidive Persae,
 non Tanaïn prope flumen orti.
 nosque et profestis lucibus et sacris
 inter iocosi munera Liberi
 cum prole matronisque nostris,
 rite deos prius apprecati,
virtute functos more patrum duces
 Lydis remixto carmine tibiis
 Troiamque et Anchisen et almae
 progeniem Veneris canemus.

(Odes IV. xv.)

NOTES.

I.

Why this renewal of civil strife? Has not enough of Roman blood been shed, not to conquer a foreign foe, but to bring about our own ruin? The very beasts never rage against their own kind. What is the cause? The hereditary curse of the blood of Remus.

1. *scelesti*. *Scelus* is the strongest expression for crime possible. Cf. VIII. 29, "*cui dabit partes scelus expiandi Iuppiter*".

2. *conditi*, 'sheathed', *i.e.* after the battle of Philippi.

3. Cf. X. 34-6, where *ora* answers to the *campis* and *mare* to the *Neptuno* of this passage.

5. *invidae*, 'rival'. Cf. II. 5.

7. *intactus*, 'unconquered'. The two expeditions of Julius Caesar are, so to speak, ignored. So Tacitus, *Agric.* xiii. "*Divus Iulius cum exercitu Britanniam ingressus, quanquam prospera pugna terruerit incolas ac litore potitus sit, potest videri ostendisse posteris, non tradidisse.*" A less likely interpretation would supply *prius*. Roman blood is shed, not as by Scipio to destroy Rome's great rival, or by Caesar to subdue the yet unconquered Britain.

7. *descenderet*. The triumphal procession was marshalled outside the city in the Campus Martius. (The general had been waiting outside till the senate authorized the triumph.) It entered by the Porta Triumphalis, opened on such occasions only, and having traversed a considerable part of the city, as the Velabrum, the Forum Boarium, made the circuit of the Palatine, &c., entered the Via Sacra. This road led *down* by a slope of between fifty and sixty feet to the Forum (the word *descendo* is frequently used of approaching the Forum). The ascent to the Capitol (*clivus Capitolinus*), (which was winding, in order to make the rise easy) began at the end of the Via Sacra. At this point the captives were led off to the *carcer Tullianus*, but the *descenderet* does not refer to this, but to the downward slope traversed before the Forum was reached.

9. *sua*. Cf. II. 2.

11-12. *hic* is explained by what follows in line 12. Supply *genus* after *dispar*. It is best to take the adjective *feris* in close connection with *nisi* in *dispar*. 'Neither with the wolf nor the bear has there been this habit to be savage except against a strange kind', &c.

13. *furor caecus*, &c. The alternatives are 'blind madness', 'overpowering force [of fate]', 'deliberate guilt'. He asks his countrymen which they choose as accounting for their act. They are silent; and he replies. It is fate, the deadly inheritance of the fratricide of Romulus. Or *culpa* may mean 'the guilt of a bygone time'.

19. *ut*, 'from when', or 'ever since'. Cf. XXI. 42.

20. *sacer*, with an active sense, 'bringing a curse upon'.

II.

Rome is bent on working her own ruin. Let us imitate the Phocaeans of old, and leave our country, binding ourselves under a curse never to return till the whole course of nature shall have been reversed. A happier abode awaits us in the far West; there we shall find another Golden Age.

1. *Altera aetas*, 'a second generation', that of Marius and Sulla being probably the first.

2. Cf. I. 9, 10.

3. *quam* is the relative to the object (understood) of *perdemus* in line 9. This may be *urbem* or *civitatem*.

3. *finitimi*. This has no special force as applied to the Marsi, the Etruscans being nearer neighbours to Rome, and Capua not more remote, but contrasts the dangers which had threatened Rome from within the borders of Italy with those which had come upon her from without.

3. *Marsi*. The reference is not to the earlier wars, which occurred at the close of the fourth century B.C., but to the Social War, which indeed was sometimes called *Bellum Marsicum*. The Marsi took a prominent part in this (B.C. 91-88), being the leaders of the northern division of the Confederates. They were among the last to submit.

4. *Porsenae*, King of Clusium and head of the Etruscan League. Livy's patriotism prompts him to minimize the success of the Etruscan power on this occasion (about 507 B.C.), but Tacitus uses the expression '*dedita urbe*' (*Hist.* iii. 72). Porsena apparently was content with depriving Rome of some portion of its territory, but did not insist on the restoration of the Tarquins, the alleged object of his attack.

5. *Capuae*. Cicero speaks of the city as "*altera illa Roma*" (*Phil.* xii. 3), and mentions it (*De Lege Agraria*, ii. 32) as traditionally coupled with Corinth and Carthage as cities which might aspire to the Empire of the World. Capua was most formidable to Rome during the second Punic war, when it opened its gates to Hannibal (B.C. 212). It had been treated with some generosity after the defeat at Mount Vesuvius (B.C. 340), where its forces had been

ranged side by side with the Latins. Some of its citizens had been admitted to the full citizenship of Rome, and all to *civitas sine suffragio*. The irritation caused by its defection was very great, and when compelled to surrender (B.C. 211) it was treated with great severity. Many of the upper class were put to death, many of the lower sold into slavery. Plautus, in the *Trinummus* (probably produced twenty years after this event), levels a savage taunt at the endurance of the Campanian slaves,

“Campans genus
multo Surorum iam antedit patientiam” (545-6).

5. **Spartacus**, a gladiator (a Thracian by birth) who, at the head of an army of gladiators and runaway slaves, held out for more than two years (B.C. 73-71) against all the power of Rome.

6. **novis rebus** must be ablative and equivalent to *inter novas res*, ‘in the midst of revolution’. So Orelli. Wickham takes it as a dative, and translates “faithless ally of revolution” in reference to the part which the envoys of the Allobroges played in betraying the advances of the Catilinarian conspirators to them. But this certainly diminished rather than aggravated the danger of Rome. The reference is more general. Disloyal subjects were an additional peril when revolution was about. Possibly there is a reference to the attack made by the Allobroges on the Roman province of Gallia Narbonensis some little time after the Catiline troubles. They were defeated by its governor, C. Pompeius, the very man who as praetor had arrested their envoys two years before. The Allobroges were settled east of the Rhone.

7. **caerulea**, blue-eyed. Tacitus (*Germ.* 4) says “omnibus truces et caerulei oculi, rutilae comae, magna corpora”.

7. **Germania**. The reference is to the invasion of the Cimbri and Teutones, finally crushed, after various disastrous defeats of Roman armies, by C. Marius, at the Campi Raudii (probably *Robbio* between Vercelli and Mortara in the Lombard Plains).

8. **parentibus**, ‘parents’, *i.e.* fathers and mothers, not, as Orelli takes it, ‘our ancestors’, *i.e.* equivalent to *maioribus*. Cf. *Odes*, I. i. 24, “bella matribus detestata”.

8. **abominatus**, passive. Orelli quotes Livy, xxxi. 12, “abominati seminares”, and from Priscian, “saevitia abominaretur ab omnibus”.

9. **impia**, an epithet frequently applied to civil war.

9. **devoti sanguinis** is a descriptive genitive, going with *aetas*, “a generation which inherits a curse”.

10. **rursus**, again, as before Rome was built.

11. **insistet**, followed by the accusative *cineres*, an uncommon construction, but found in *Aen.* vi. 563, “nulli fas casto sceleratum insistere limen”.

13. *ossa Quirini*. The common tradition was that Quirinus (Romulus) was translated bodily to heaven. So we have in XIV. 16, "Martis equis Acheronta fugit"; but a passage from Varro, the great antiquarian (contemporary with Cicero), is quoted by Porphyrio (an early commentator on Horace) to this effect: "Varro post Rostra fuisse sepulchrum Romuli dicit".

14. *nefas videre*. *Nefus* is an accusative, in apposition with the action described in *dissipabit ossa*. *Videre* would, in prose, be the supine *visu*.

15. *forte* is equivalent to *fortasse*, or, if the explanation is preferred, there is an ellipsis of *si*. 'Perchance you are seeking', or, 'if by chance you are seeking'.

15. *communiter*, 'with one consent'.

15. *melior pars*, 'the better part of you'.

15-16. *quid expediat carere*, 'what may avail for you to be quit', *carere* being taken as equivalent to *ad carendum*, a very harsh construction.

17-20. *nulla sit*, &c., 'Let no counsel be preferred to this'. What is meant by *hac* we find in "ire pedes", &c.

17-20. *Phocaeorum*, &c., 'As the citizens of Phocaea fled under the obligation of a curse from the fields and temples of their country, and left their shrines to be the dwelling', &c. *Atque* may be taken as emphatic, 'the fields, yea, and the temples'. The story is told by Herodotus, i. 165. The Phocaeans, close pressed by the forces of Cyrus, left their city, binding themselves at the time not to return till a lump of iron which they threw into the sea should be seen to float.

21. *pedes...per undas*. They would start by land, but complete their journey by sea.

22. *Notus...Africus*. The names of the winds are used loosely. Neither s.w. or s. would be favourable for a journey across the ocean.

23. *sic placet?* The question, when a law or resolution was proposed, was put to a public body by the word 'placet', with the particle 'ne'.

23. *habet suadere* = *habet quod suadeat*.

23. *secunda*, properly of a following, *i.e.* favourable wind, hence 'favourable' generally.

24. *alite*, like the Greek *ὄλως*. The commonest omeas were taken from birds.

25. *in haec, i.e. verba*. The phrase means to take a prescribed form of oath. The oath itself is put in an inverted form. Naturally it would be, 'Let it be a crime (*nefas*) to return till the stones float', &c.

25. *renarint*. The particle 're' must signify 'back', not 'again'. 'Swim back again to the surface from which they sank'.

27. *dare lintea* = *navigare*, and so properly followed by *domum*, which follows a verb of motion.

28. The impossibility is double. The Padus is to change its course from Gallia Cisalpina to Apulia, and wash, not the plains, but the mountain tops.

28. *Matina*. The word properly applies to the southern slope of Mt. Garganus, in Apulia, but is used here of the whole range.

29. The Apennines, an inland range, were to become a promontory (like Garganus).

29. *procurrerit*. The word is used elsewhere for to 'project'. So in Tacitus (*Agric.* ii.), "*procurrentibus in diversa terris*".

30. *monstra*, used proleptically, 'ita ut monstra fiant'.

31. *subsidere*, 'to mate with'.

33. *credula*, 'becoming trustful', so as not to fear.

33. *ravos*. The word is connected with the English 'gray' (compare Gk. *γραῦς*, an old, *i.e.* gray-headed woman), defined as a mixture of yellow (*flavus*) and bluish-gray (*caesius*).

34. The goat is to become smooth (as a fish) and change his meadows for the sea.

35. *haec*, the object of *exsecrata*, which is repeated from line 18.

35. *et quae*, 'and whatever else shall be able'. The curse of the Phocaeans did not prevent some of them from returning.

37. *pars*, &c. = "melior pars" of line 15.

37. *mollis et exspes*, 'the coward and the faint-heart'.

38. *inominata*, 'unblest'; *perprimat*, 'still (*per*) cling to', 'hug'.

39. *tollite* = *ponite*, 'put away'.

40. According to the common practice of ancient navigation to keep as long as possible within sight of land, they would follow the coast-line of Italy till it turned westward.

41. *circumvagus*, 'earth circling', as in Aesch. *Prom.* 138, τοῦ περὶ πᾶσαν θ' ἐλίσσσομένου χθόν' ἀκοιμήτῳ ρεύματι Ὀκεανοῦ.

42. *divites et insulas*, a more particular description of the *arva beata*. The legend appears in Hesiod. If the 'insulae' are to be identified with any particular spot, it is with the Canaries and the Madeira group. These were known to Carthaginian navigators. Sertorius heard of them from Spanish sailors, and at one time conceived the idea of retiring to them.

43. *reddit*: the 're' in *redito* gives the force of the payment being *due*.

42-46. The general purport is that the bounties of nature come without the toil of man. There is no need to plough the earth, to prune the vine, or graft the fig.

45. *termes*, the bough cut or broken off (*tero*) from the olive yet shoots.

46. *suam*, 'parent stem'; it does not come from a graft. It is said that the fig does not come to maturity except on a grafted tree.

46. *pulla*, 'dark-coloured' = 'ripe'.

48. *crepante*, 'tinkling'.

50. *amicus*, 'affectionate', *i.e.* without compulsion.

51. *vespertinus*, cf. *Jeremiah* v. 6., "a wolf of the evenings" and *Zephaniah* iii. 3, "her judges are evening wolves".

52. *alta*, perhaps meaning that the deep, fertile soil does not suit the viper, which prefers dry and rocky ground, or, "deep in grass", and yet not hiding the viper as did the deep grass by the banks of Hebrus (*Virg. Georg.* iv. 459). Orelli explains it by the movement of the viper, which progresses by alternately raising and depressing its body. "When a great number of these reptiles are moving quickly the ground itself seems to a distant spectator to swell." He adds "This I have myself often seen while I wandered, always alone, among the meadows of Italy, most delightful of spots, but for these same vipers". This sounds somewhat marvellous.

54. *radat*, 'sweeps', *i.e.* carries off the soil from. So Lucretius (v. 257), "*ripas radentia flumina rodunt*".

55. *siccis*, 'parched'. The clods never grow parched so as to dry up the moisture of the seed.

56. *utrumque*, 'each extreme'; understand the extreme of deluge as expressed in 53-54, and that of drought in 55.

56. *temperante*, 'moderating'.

59. *torserunt cornua*, 'trimmed their yards'; the *cornua* are the ends of the yard-arms.

62. *aestuosa impotentia*, 'burning rage'; *aestuosus* means full either of movement or of heat; *impotentia* is 'lack of power or control', hence rage; so "*Aquila impotens*" in XIV. 40.

64. *inquinavit*, corrupted.

65. *quorum*, the objective genitive after *fuga*, 'an escape from which', *i.e.* *secula*.

66. *secunda*, 'successful'.

III.

For the object of this attack see Introduction, p. 18. It may have been a certain Vedius Rufus, otherwise unknown, who is mentioned in the heading of the Epode, as given in some MSS. "Vedium Rufum ex servitute miratur usurpasse dignitatem equestrem usque ad tribunatum militum."

1. *sortito* = *sorte*, by lot, *i.e.* fate. For the form compare *consulto*, &c.

3. *Ibericis funibus*, 'ropes of Spanish broom', a very tenacious plant still called *esparto*, and now largely used in the manufacture of paper.

3. *peruste*, 'deeply galled'; so in *Epp.* I. xvi. 47, "loris non ureris".

3. *latus*, an accusative of respect, as is *crura* in line 4.

5. *ambules*, 'strut'; the word suggests a haughty gait.

6. *genus*, he was a slave by birth.

7. *metiente* has a similar force to *ambules*. He walks with a slow and deliberate step like one who is measuring a distance.

8. *bis trium*, the reading of the MSS. is *bis ter*, an inadmissible construction.

8. *ulna*, the fore-arm from the shoulder to the wrist (ὠλένη), equal to nearly *two feet*. The toga would be twelve feet in breadth (breadth, not length, is intended). We do not know what the ordinary breadth of a toga was, but the ordinary loose surplice (as distinguished from the short close-fitting alb) measures seven or eight feet. In the *Pro Cluentio* (c. 40) Cicero ridicules the extravagantly long robe of a foppish official ("usque ad talos demissam purpuram").

9. *vertat*, 'turns away' or 'turns to you' or 'changes', as in *Sat.* I. viii. 35, "vertere pallor | tum parochi faciem".

11-20. These lines give the words in which the *indignatio* finds expression. The person, it should be observed, is changed from the second to the third.

11. *triumviralibus*, of the Triumviri Capitaes, judges who took cognizance of slaves and other persons not of the standing of citizens. The person attacked had, therefore, been a slave.

12. *praeconis*. The *praeco* or crier proclaimed the offence while the punishment was going on.

13. *Falerni*: *Falernus Ager*, a district in northern Campania, famous for its excellent wine. A thousand *iugera* (600 acres) of first-class vineyard would be a very valuable possession.

14. *mannis*, horses from Gaul, 'cobs', famous for their speed.

14. Appiam: the Via Appia would be the road by which he would travel to his estate.

14, 15. The Law of Otho (L. Roscius Otho, tribune of the plebs in the year 67) provided that the first fourteen rows in the theatre, next to the orchestra, which was occupied by senators, should be reserved for persons who possessed the qualification of an *equus*, i.e. property amounting to 400,000 sesterces (about £3200). It further provided that no person who was not free-born should be admitted to these rows. The subject of the poet's satire had the money and much more, and could despise the provision about birth.

17. quid attinet, 'what end does it serve?' 'what does it profit?'

17. ora rostrata, 'beaked prows'.

17, 18. gravi pondere, a descriptive ablative.

19. latrones atque servilem manum, the crews of Sex. Pompeius were doubtless recruited from all sources, pirates and runaway slaves among them

IV.

You are going on a service of danger. I am ready to follow you, not because I can help you, but because it will be more tolerable to be with you than to endure the anxieties of absence. Nor do I seek for any reward. You have already given me as much as I desire.

1. Liburnis. These were ships built on the model of the light vessels used by the Liburnians, a piratical tribe, inhabiting part of the coast of Illyricum (on the east of the Adriatic). They had two banks of oars. Suidas describes them as furnished with brazen beaks (for ramming), strongly built, decked, and of incredible swift-ness.

1. alta. The use of this epithet is a very cogent argument for referring this poem to the campaign against Antony rather than to that against Sex. Pompeius. Florus says of Antony's ships at Actium, "turrium atque tabulatis allevatae castellorum et urbium specie". Some had as many as *nine* banks of oars. Plutarch speaks of the wooden towers which Antony's ships carried, and Dio Cassius represents him as encouraging his troops by pointing out to them the size and strong construction of the ships. So Virgil (*Aen.* viii. 691-3).

"pelago credas innare revolsas

Cycladas, aut montes concurrere montibus altos;
tanta mole viri turritis puppibus instant".

4. tuo, i.e. *periculo*. The usage is much the same as in "rem periculo meo gero": 'at risk to yourself', or possibly it has a quasi instrumental force, 'to help out Caesar's perils by your own'.

5. quid nos? 'what are we to do?'

5, 6. The construction is somewhat awkward and confused. *Sit* has been conjectured for *si*, and would get rid of the difficulty.

Taking the reading of the text, which is at least as old as Porphyryon (probably 5th or 6th century), we must explain it either as equal to "quibus vita iucunda est, si te superstite vivatur, si contra, gravis", or as resulting from a confusion of the two ways of expressing the idea, "quibus vita iucunda [est] si tu superstes sis", and "quibus vita iucunda [est] te superstite". The actual end of the poet's life, a few months after his patron's death, in the year 8, is a pathetic comment on these words.

7. iussi, 'at your bidding'.

8. ni tecum simul, understand *persequamur*, 'unless we pursue it in your company'.

9. Perhaps it is better to understand *persequemur* from line 7 and make *laborem* the object both of it and of *laturi*, 'or are we to pursue this task, bound on enduring it in the spirit (*mente* equivalent to *animo*) with which a man not a coward should endure it'. Possibly, we may supply *sumus* after *laturi*, though such an ellipsis of the auxiliary verb is most unusual.

11. feremus answers the question put in lines 7-10 by accepting the second alternative.

11-14. He is willing to traverse mountains (the Alps in the west, the Caucasus in the east) or sea (the unknown ocean).

12. inhospitalem. So Aeschylus speaks of the Caucasus as ἀπάνθρωπος.

15. roges, potential 'you may ask'.

16. imbellis, 'unused to war', cf. IX. 10.

16. firmus parum, 'feeble of frame'. It refers to his health.

17. sum futurus. The indicative is used as expressing his conviction of the fact.

18. maior habet, 'possesses with greater force'.

19. assidens. The participle is not used in its strict time sense, but as equivalent to *quae assidet*, 'a bird that has in charge a callow brood'.

21. relictis, probably dative.

21. ut adsit, 'though she be there'.

22. praesentibus. This is almost superfluous, but yet increases the force of the picture.

23. militabitur. The passive is unusual, but there is another instance in Plautus, *Pers.* ii. 2. 50, "illa militia militatur".

24. in spem, 'to further the hope'.

25. pluribus. The larger the estate the more oxen would be wanted for the plough. According to one Roman writer on agriculture, a pair was wanted for every 60 acres, according to another, for every 48.

26. *nitantur*. The struggle of the oxen is attributed poetically to the plough.

27, 28. *mutet*, change to Lucanian from Calabrian pastures. The Calabrian were suited to winter, the Lucanian, being hilly, to the summer. So in *Odes* I. xxxi. 5 Calabria is described as *aestuosa*. For the advantage of having pasture land in both regions cf. *Epp.* II. ii. 177, "*Calabris saltibus adiecti Lucani*". For the same use of *muto* we have *Odes* I. xvii. 1—

"Velox amoenum saepe Lucretilem
mutat Lycaeo Faunus",

the Arcadian Lycaeus being, of course, the abode usually attributed to him.

27. *sidus fervidum*, 'the time of the burning dog-star', though it may mean 'before the sun grows burning hot', *sidus* being used of the sun as in Tibullus II. i. 47, "*calidi sideris aestu*".

29, 30. The order of the words is "*neque ut villa candens tangat Circaea moenia superni Tusculi*". *superni*, 'lofty', because built on the top of a hill. *Circaea*, because the legend ascribed its foundation to Telegonus, son of Ulysses by Circe, who was said to have unwittingly slain his father; so in III. xxix. 8 we have "*Telegoni iuga parricidae*". *tangat*, the closer to the walls the more highly prized the house.

32. *ditavit*, probably by the gift of the Sabine farm. This present seems to have been made after the publication of the First Book of Satires, *i.e.* between 35 and 30, and before the publication of the Second. If it is intended here, the mention of it is fatal to the theory of the earlier date of the poem.

32. *haud paravero*, 'I shall not have prepared', *i.e.* 'I shall not be found to have prepared'.

33. *Chremes*, not the Chremes in any play known to us.

34. *discinctus*, lit. 'ungirt', hence 'loose', 'profligate'. So in *St. Luke*, xii. 35, "Let your loins be girded about, and your lights burning".

V.

Quintilian takes this ode as an example of *Allegory*: "*Navem Horatius pro re publica, fluctuum tempestates pro bellis civilibus, portum pro pace et concordia dicit*". Only the leading ideas have this double significance. Orelli quotes from an Italian scholar of the fifteenth century some absurd attempts to find minor analogies; the yard-arms become *armies*, the ropes *generals*, and so on.

Take heed, O ship, that you are not carried out again to a stormy sea. Shattered as you are, your only hope is in gaining and keeping the harbour.

1, 2. *novi fluctus*. There are new troubles, and all that has been done will be undone. You will be at sea again.

2. *fortiter occupa*, 'make first for the harbour with all your strength'. *Occupa* has the sense of anticipating the danger.

4-6. *latus, malus, and antennae* may all be subjects of *gemant*, as Orelli thinks, or *sit* may be supplied with *nudum remigio*, and again with *saucius Africo*. The latter seems preferable. The trouble of each part is described—the side is swept bare of oars, the mast is broken, the yard-arms groan.

6. *gemant*; *vides ut gemant* is a case of *zeugma*.

6. *funibus*, these are the ropes for undergirding the ships; cf. *Acts*, xxvii. 17. They are sometimes used in modern navigation. Sir James C. Ross's ships, when returning from his Antarctic exploration (1839-43), were undergirded.

7. *carinae*. This plural is not easily explained. Page ingeniously suggests the two sides of the keel which the undergirding ropes are supposed to keep together. Orelli suggests a possible precedent in the usage of some older poet. Some MSS. have *cavernae*, which, however, should properly mean 'the hold'.

8. *imperiosius*, 'too tyrannous', or 'more tyrannous than ever'.

9, 10. The sails are torn (*non sunt integra lintea*), the very gods are broken. These were the images which were put on the stern as objects of the sailors' prayers, "*accipit et pictos puppis adunca deos*" (Ovid, *Her.* xvi. 112). Possibly, 'you have no gods on whom to call', *i.e.* 'you have exhausted the favour of heaven'.

11. *Pontica pinus*. The pines of Pontus were famous as material for shipbuilding. Catullus's pinnacle was made from Pontic timber. "*Trucemve Ponticum sinum, | ubi iste post phaselus antea fuit, comata silva*". It is better, perhaps, to have a comma only after *malo*. 'You are in poor plight, however famous your origin.' Just as the ship, when its sails are rent and its tutelary gods broken or defaced, finds no help in having been built of timber from famous forests, so the state will not be served in its need by all the splendid associations of its history.

14. *pictis*. The comparison is carried on. As the bright colouring of the ship gives no confidence to the sailor, so all magnificence and show of wealth will not avail the state.

15, 16. If you are not doomed to make sport for the winds (in which case no counsel or caution would be of any avail), *beware!*

17. *nuper*, once, in the days when he was himself an actor in the strife.

17. *sollicitum taedium*, 'an anxiety and a weariness'.

18. *desiderium*, 'object of my love and grave interest'. The personal anxiety was gone, but the patriotic interest remained.

19, 20. The image of the beginning of the ode is partly dropped. There is no question of getting into harbour, only of avoiding a dangerous navigation, the seas that flow among the glistening cliffs of the Aegean isles.

VI.

When shall we celebrate the victory? The disgrace of our arms is wiped away. Such a triumph has never been celebrated before. The enemy is a fugitive. Let our merriment be unrestrained.

1. *Caecubum*. The *Caecubus ager* was a district on the coast of Latium, between Tarracina and Speluncae. It produced one of the finest wines of Italy, equal, possibly superior, to the Falernian and Calene vintages. The three districts were nearly contiguous, being situate in southern Latium and northern Campania. Cf. VII. 5, where the same wine is spoken of as reserved for the same purpose.

3. *alta domo*, 'high-built mansion'. Horace, in *Odes* III. xxix. 10, speaks of "molem propinquam nubibus arduis". The mansion occupied the top of the Esquiline Hill, and the part especially referred to in the words quoted as in the epithet *alta* was the *turris*, from which a wide prospect of Rome was commanded. From this Nero watched the great fire of Rome.

3. *sic Iovi gratum*, 'such is Jupiter's good pleasure'.

5. The combination is of the typical string and wind instruments, a combination as old as Homer, *αῦλοι φόρμιγγές τε βοήν ἔχον*. The word seems to imply that there was a duet, and this is what we should naturally expect; but then how are we to account for the difference of the kinds of music as described in the next line? The subject of ancient music is full of difficulties.

6. *illis, i.e. tibiis*. The construction is not strictly grammatical, even though *tibiis* in the preceding line may be ablative as probably as dative, for it is not an ablative absolute, as is *lyra*, with which *hac* is in apposition.

6. *barbarum* = Phrygium. The Dorian music was martial (so *Odes* III. xix. 18-19, "Insanire iuvat: cur Berecynthiae | cessant flamina tibiae"), the Phrygian convivial. Plato in the *Republic*, 399 A *seq.*, speaks of the difference between the two kinds of music: the *αὐλός* was not to be admitted into his model state.

7. *nuper*, five years before. Sextus Pompeius was defeated by Agrippa on Sept. 3rd, 36, off Naulochus, on the north coast of Sicily.

7. *Neptunius*. Pompeius, on the strength of his repeated successes (see Introduction, p. 16 *seq.*), boasted that he was the son of Neptune. On one of his coins the figure of Neptune occurs.

8. *fugit*, 'fled' from the sea (*freto*), from which, if the boast of his surname had been true, he should have drawn victory. Pompeius took refuge in Asia Minor after the battle of Naulochus. Such of

his ships as were not sunk or taken in the battle were driven ashore and burnt.

10. *servis*; cf. III. 19. The word is doubly governed by *de-traxerat* and *amicus*.

12. *emancipatus*. Strictly speaking, *emancipare* is to free a son from the *patria potestas*. Thence it comes to mean to transfer from one ownership to another, or generally, as here, from one allegiance to another. There is something of a middle force in the participle here, 'making himself the slave'.

12. *feminae* is dative.

13. *vallum*, the *vallus* was the stake, used for fortifying, which was part of the huge burden carried by the Roman soldier.

13. *et* = 'and yet'; is still a Roman soldier in endurance, and yet can bring himself to be the slave.

14. *potest* = the Greek $\tau\lambda\alpha$, 'endures to'.

16. *conopium*, 'a couch or litter with mosquito curtains', from the Greek word that signifies a 'gnat'. The '*i*' is properly long as representing the Greek '*ει*', but there is a kindred form with an *e*.

17. *ad hunc*, *i.e. militem*, 'chafing at the sight of such a soldier', "emancipatus feminae". This is somewhat awkward, and *ad hoc*, 'at this sight', and *at hoc* where *hoc* follows *frementes*, especially as *militem* is separated from *hunc* by two lines, have been conjectured. There is no MS. authority for either of them; perhaps *ad hoc* is the better of the two.

18. Galli, Galatians, who, under their king (Deiotarus II.), went over to Octavianus before the battle of Actium.

18. *canentes Caesarem*, 'shouting the battle-cry *Caesar*.'

19, 20. These lines apparently refer to some movement in a part of Antony's fleet which corresponded to the desertion of the Galatians. We do not know anything more about it.

20. *citae* = *citatae*. The ships made a swift backing movement to the left, *i.e.* eastward, and secreted themselves in harbour.

21. *Triumphe!* The god himself is addressed, 'Is it *thou*, *Triumphus*, that delayest?'

22. *intactas*, never yoked, and so available for sacred purposes; "intactas cervice iuvenas" (Verg. *Georg.* iv. 540).

23-25. *nec Iugurthino...Africanum*. 'Neither from the war with Jugurtha didst thou bring back a leader in Marius like to him (Caesar), nor in Africanus'.

25, 26. 'For whom valour built a tomb above (*i.e.* or the ruins of Carthage). But see Appendix B. for a discussion of this passage.

27. *punico* = *punico*, 'scarlet'.

28. *mutavit*, see note on IV. 28.

28. *sagum*, 'the military cloak', properly of the common soldier, but used here generally as opposed to the civilian dress, the *toga*, and further qualified by the adjective *punico*, which identifies it with the garment of the general in command.

29-31. *Cretam* and *Syrtes* are the objects of *petit*. 'He is making either for Crete', &c.

29. *centum nobilem urbibus*, the epithet is borrowed from Homer (*ἐκατόμπολις*, *Iliad* ii. 649).

30. *non suis*, 'not favourable'. So Seneca, *Epp.* 71. 3, "Ignoranti quem portum petat nullus suus est ventus".

31. *exercitatas*, 'vexed', 'lashed'; so the "still vexed Bermoothes".

32. *incerto*. The adjective is transferred from the traveller to the element on which he travels. The fugitive is making his way either to Crete or to the African coast—in either case without any choice of his own, but availing himself of the winds that happen to blow; or he is careless whither the sea is taking him.

34. Chian and Lesbian wines were sweet, Caecuban dry.

36. *metire*, 'measure out'. The wine and water were mixed with so many *cyathi* or ladles of each.

37. *rerum* is the objective genitive after *curam metumque*, 'our anxiety and fear about the fortunes of Caesar'.

VII.

The time for rejoicing has come. Hitherto our anxieties have been too great; but Caesar has broken the strength of the enemy. The great queen, who meditated Rome's ruin, is dead, dead by her own hand rather than grace a Roman triumph.

This is the first Alcaic ode that we have from the pen of Horace. Two harsh sounding lines (5 and 14) are to be found in it. The whole bears traces of haste and want of finish. The first clause is a translation from Alcaeus, *νῦν χρὴ μεθύσθην*.

1, 2. This would be a very unusual expression of joy. A Roman gentleman would hardly dance under any circumstances. "Nemo fere saltat sobrius", says Cicero. *pulsanda* and *pede libero* both strengthen the phrase. So of the rejoicing of the Faunalia (*Odes* III. xviii. 15, 16), "Gaudet invisam pepulisse fossor | ter pede terram".

2. *Saliaribus*, adjective from *Salii*, priests of Mars. For the splendour of priestly banquets generally, cf. *Odes* II. xiv. 28, "mero Pontificum potiore coenis"; for the *Salii* in particular, Cicero *Ad Atticum* v. 9. (of an entertainment prepared for him by order of Atticus), "cum epulati essemus Saliarem in modum".

3. *pulvinar*. On the occasion of a public thanksgiving the images of certain gods were made to recline on couches (*lectus*), each with the left arm resting on a *pulvinus* or cushion. The *lectus* was hence called *pulvinar*. A table spread with food was placed in front. Here *pulvinar* seems to include couches and tables.

4. *tempus erat*, 'this was the time' (as we rightly thought). The word expresses a past conviction that the time when the war should be definitely finished by the death of Cleopatra was the right time for rejoicing. Orelli takes it as 'it was the proper occasion some time ago'. But this is a strange use of *nunc*. 'At this moment the time for rejoicing has arrived some time ago'.

5. *antehac*, a dissyllable.

6. *avitis*, stocked by our grandsires. Such an age (say sixty or seventy years) would be unusual but not impossible. Pliny the Elder tells us that *vinum Opimianum*, the produce of a particularly fine vintage in the year 121 B.C., was still in existence in his time, say in 65 A.D. (Pliny died in 79 A.D.).

6. *Capitolio regina*. "Notice the juxtaposition of these words, *invidiæ causa*. The Romans abhorred the word *rex*, how much more *regina*, and in connection with their national temple!" (Page). Cf. "emancipatus feminae" (VI. 12).

7. *dementes*, the epithet transferred from the agent to the object. The figure is called Hypallage; so "*sceleratas sumere poenas*" (Verg. *Aen.* ii. 576).

9, 10. Take *contaminato* with *grege*, and make *morbo* depend on *turpium*; *virorum* is used ironically for the *spadones* of VI. 13.

impotens, cf. II. 62. The infinitive *sperare* is used in place of the genitive that commonly follows the word in this sense. *Impotens iræ* means 'unable to control anger'; so *impotens sperare* would be 'unable to master the hope' = 'mastered by the wildest hopes'. The infinitive is of the kind called 'epexegetive', *i.e.* explains the bearing of the word it follows.

11. *dulci fortuna*, 'the sweet wine of fortune'.

13. *vix una*. The whole of Antony's fleet was destroyed by fire, with the exception of the single ship in which he himself made his escape; Cleopatra's fleet escaped; in fact it was her early flight from the battle that first turned the scale in favour of Augustus.

14. *lymphatam* = *νυμφόληπτος*, 'struck with madness', 'mad-dened', an effect commonly attributed to the agency of the nymphs, as *panicus terror* was to that of Pan.

14. *Mareotico*, 'of Marea', a town on the south side of the lake Mareotis. Virgil mentions the wine, and Athenaeus describes it in terms of high praise, as light and of excellent *bouquet*.

15. *veros*, 'real', as opposed to the foolish hopes of intoxication.

16. *ab Italia*. Cleopatra when at Actium was threatening Italy.

17. *adurgens*, 'closely pursuing'. As a matter of fact Augustus did not pursue Cleopatra for a year after the victory at Actium.

17. *accipiter*. The image is borrowed from Homer (*Il.* xxii. 138),
 ἡύτε κίρκος δρεσφιν, ἐλαφρότατος πετεηνῶν, | ῥῆϊδίως ἐπόρουσε μετὰ
 τρήρῳνα πέλειαν.

19, 20. *nivalis Haemoniae*, Thessaly, so called from the mythical Haemon, father of Thessalus. The epithet *nivalis* may be loosely applied to Thessaly, as it is to Thrace. But it may mean 'Thessaly in the time of snow'.

20. *daret ut*, of course to be connected with *adurgens*.

21. *fatale monstrum*, 'portent of doom', not so much to Rome as to one of Rome's most famous sons, Antony.

21. *quae*, agreeing with the signification rather than the grammar of the antecedent. The construction is called *synesis*, or *constructio ad sensum*.

21. *generosius perire*, 'to find a nobler end' (than her conqueror destined for her).

23. *expavit ensem*. Plutarch relates that she would have stabbed herself had she not been hindered by force.

23, 24. Cleopatra is said to have conceived the idea of carrying her ships across to the Red Sea and flying to the far East.

24. *reparavit*, 'acquired afresh' or 'in exchange'. She had lost Italy, and the thought crossed her mind that she might acquire some other realm in exchange. It may be rendered 'sought some new unknown realm'.

25. *iacentem*, 'lying low', 'ruined'.

27, 28. 'To draw the dark poison into her blood.'

29. *ferocior*, 'haughtier than ever when she had resolved on death'.

30, 31. 'Grudging the hostile galleys the being conducted (*i.e.* that she should be conducted) a discrowned queen.'

32. *non humilis mulier*, "woman though she was, not lowly enough for that" (Page). *deduci* stands for the direct, *Liburnis* (see V. 1) for the indirect object after *invidens*. *triumpho* follows *deduci*.

VIII.

Terrible portents have been troubling us, for Caesar's death is yet un-avenged. What god will help us? None will be so gracious and good as he, the winged Mercury, who takes the form of Augustus. May he tarry long on earth to rule the state!

1. *nivis*. Orelli remarks, "We Germans must remember that
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in southern Italy snow is something of a portent", and relates an experience of his own, "even at Milan", that the snow of the autumn of 1807 was met with astonished cries of *nevica, nevica*. But the solid streams and snow-clad Soracte of *Odes* I. ix. seem to show that very severe cold was not unknown in Italy. The climate may well have grown milder. Nauck, quoted by Page, regards the repetition of the syllable *is* (*satis, terris, nevis, grandinis, misit*) as intentional. "It would seem as if Horace were endeavouring somewhat theatrically to imitate the wearisome whistling of the wind in stormy weather".

1. *dirae*, 'portentous', so *diri cometæ* (Verg. *Georg.* i. 488).

2. *rubente*, 'red with the lightning glare'. So Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ii. 177—

"Should intermitted vengeance arm again
His red right hand to plague us".

3. *iaculatus*, used as is the Greek βάλλω, of the object aimed at as well as of the thing thrown.

3. *arces*, the two summits of the Capitoline Hill, the northern crowned with the *arx* proper, the southern by the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

4. *Urbem*, Rome, the 'city' *par excellence*.

5. *gentes*, all the world except the *Urbs*; so the Papal benediction addressed "urbi et orbi".

5. *ne* follows *terruit*, which is equivalent to *affectit metu ne*.

6. *Pyrrhae*, the wife of Deucalion.

7. *pecus*, the herd of seals, as in *Odyssey*, iv. 386, and Verg. *Georg.* iv. 393, "immania Neptuni armenta", which Proteus was supposed to shepherd.

8. *visere* follows *egit* as expressing a purpose, a very rare construction in Latin, though common enough in Greek. The same may be found in Verg. *Aen.* i. 527-8: "Non nos aut ferro Libycos populare Penates venimus". "Te persequor frangere" (*Odes* I. xxiii. 10) is somewhat like it, and is certainly Greek. But it seems equal to 'I am not aiming at breaking thee', *frangere* being, as it were, the object of *persequor*. No such explanation can be given of *egit visere*.

9. So Ovid in his description of Deucalion's deluge, "Hic summa pisces deprendit in ulmo".

11. *superiecto aequore*, 'in the overwhelming sea'.

12. *damae*, or *dammae*, variously translated as fallow-deer, antelopes, chamois. If the last, which is a mountain animal, is intended, the effect is heightened.

13, 14. There are two ways of understanding this passage: (1) that

the waters of the river having been held back by westerly winds, and so prevented from entering the sea, are said to have been violently hurled back from the Tuscan shore, *i.e.* the Tuscan sea; (2) that the flooded stream dashed against the Tuscan or right bank of the river, and was hurled back from that (it being high ground) on to the low-lying left bank. I agree with Page in preferring (2). His illustration of the Surrey side of the Thames being made more liable to flood by the construction of the embankment on the Middlesex side is apposite. But when he says that the theory of floods being "due to the wind blowing violently against the mouth of a river and preventing the efflux of its waters" is absurd, he is in error. It has always been said that the city of St. Petersburg would be greatly endangered if a long continuance of west winds should coincide with heavy floods. A strong east wind aggravates the floods by which he himself illustrates his view. *Litus* is not unfrequently used of a river-bank.

15, 16. *monumenta regis*, the palace of Numa, commonly called *Regia* simply, and the temple of Vesta stood close together in the hollow between the Capitoline and Palatine Hills. They would be exposed to inundation from the low level on which they stood, while, as the most venerable objects in Rome, any damage that might happen to them would be considered an unparalleled disaster.

17-19. *Ilia*, otherwise *Rhea Silvia*, is supposed to urge her husband the Tiber, by complaints which he could not bear to hear, to avenge the murder of her illustrious descendant Caesar by the destruction of Rome, the temple of Vesta being the badge of empire. Jupiter "*qui terri voluit populum, non perire*" does not approve of vengeance so excessive.

21, 22. *cives*; the word is emphatic, and implies that citizens sharpened the sword against fellow-citizens, the following clause, "*quo graves Persae melius perirent*", strengthening the implication.

22. *graves Persae*. The Parthi, originally occupying a mountainous district east of Media, asserted their independence of the kings of Syria in 256 B.C., their leader being a certain Arsaces. Under the dynasty thus founded they continued to occupy a considerable part of the Persian empire. Hence they are frequently called *Persae* by the poets. Parthia was the only power that could pretend to be a rival of Rome. (Hence the important place assigned to it in the view of the world in *Paradise Regained*.) The epithet *graves* expresses the fear which the Parthians inspired at Rome (see Introduction, p. 16).

23, 24. *vitio parentum rara*, 'thinned by their fathers' guilt'.

25, 26. *ruentis imperi rebus*; *rebus* is the dative, following *vocet* as implying the idea of help—*vocet ut succurrat*; 'the fortunes of our falling rule'. *Imperium* = 'military sway'.

26. *prece*. Orelli says that this singular is used by the poets only;

but it is found in Cicero, as in *Ad Att.* xi. 15, "Quintus non modo cum magna prece," &c.

27. *virgines sanctae*, the vestal virgins. The chief meanings of *sanctus* would be combined in them, viz., personal purity, consecration, inviolability. Orelli quotes Cicero (*pro Fonteio*, 17), "*Virgo Vestalis quae pro vobis liberisque vestris tot annos in dis immortalibus placandis occupata est*".

27. *minus*, used as equivalent to *non*. It is an instance of the euphemism found in all languages, and common in Greek and Latin. Vesta turns a deaf ear in her wrath at Caesar's death. Cf. Ovid (*Fasti*, iii. 699), "*Ne dubita, meus ille fuit, meus ille sacerdos; | sacri-legae telis me petiere manus*".

28. *carmina*, 'chants'; the word is used of set forms of prayer.

29. *scelus*, the 'crime' of Caesar's death; *partes* the 'office'; there is a special usage of the plural of *pars* in this sense.

30. *venias*, in prose would be preceded by *ut*.

31. *umeros* is the accusative after the reflexive *amictus*. The god veils with a cloud the splendour of his shape.

32. Apollo, invoked (1) as generally the Deity of cleansing and healing; (2) as the tutelary deity of Troy, with which Rome claimed a close connection. Suetonius mentions a story in which Apollo was said to be the father of Augustus, but it is very doubtful whether there is any allusion to it here or in the "*tuus iam regnat Apollo*" of Verg. *Æcl.* iv. 10. A flattery so gross does not grow up early.

33-35. We may understand *precamur venias* with the mention of both Erycina and Mars, "or come, Venus, if thou preferrest... or thou, Mars, if thou regardest".

33. Erycina ridens, *φιλομυειδής Ἀφροδίτη*, called Erycina from the great temple (originally erected to the Phoenician Astaroth) on the promontory of Mt. Eryx. Venus, of course, is invoked as the mother, through her son Aeneas, of the ruling race of Rome, "*Aeneadam genetrix*".

36. *respicis*, 'regardest'; 're' gives the sense of duty.

36. *auctor*, 'first founder', as according to the legend of Mars and Rhea Sylvia.

37. *ludo*. War with all its horrors is a sport to Mars, as change is the sport of Fortune, "*ludum insolentem ludere pertinax*". With *satiare* compare the Homeric *ἄτρος πολεμοῖο*.

39. *Mauri*. Bentley conjectured *Marsi*, on the ground that we never hear of any Moorish soldiers not mounted. Orelli suggests that the Maurus was *pedes* for the time only, having been unhorsed. For *Marsi* there is no MS. authority. The difficulty of *Mauri* is not insuperable. It may be used generally for African, and so include Carthaginian soldiers.

41. *iuvenem*. The term included any one within the military age (*i.e.* under 45). Taking the date which I have suggested for this ode (Introduction, pp. 20-23), Augustus would not be more than 35 years of age.

41-43. *mutata...Maiae*. *filius* is apparently a nominative for a vocative, or it may be a nominative explanatory of a suppressed *tu*, as *auctor* in line 36: 'if thou, verily the son, &c., dost with changed form, &c.'.

44. *Caesaris ultor*. So Suetonius, "Nihil convenientius duxit quam necem avunculi vindicare". (*Oct.* 10.)

45. *redeas*, as if to a natural home. Cf. Verg. *Georg.* i. 24, "Tuque adeo, quem mox quae sint habitura deorum | concilia incertum est".

47. *iniquum*. As *aequus* means 'kindly', so *iniquus* gives the idea of hostility.

48. *ocior*, 'too speedy'.

49. *triumphos* is object of *ames*, as is *dici*. The triumphs of August 6, 7, 8, 29 B.C., for Pannonia, Dalmatia, Egypt.

50. See Introduction, p. 23.

51. *Medos*, equivalent to *Persae* in line 22.

51. *equitare*. So in *Odes* I. xix. 11, "Versum animosum equis Parthum", and in *Odes* II. xiii. 17, "miles sagittas et celerem fugam Parthi".

IX.

Dear friend and comrade in the days of old, welcome back to your country! We were parted on Philippi's dreadful day. Let us celebrate with no measured joy our meeting again.

1, 2. See Introduction, p. 23.

1. *tempus in ultimum*, 'the last extremity', 'the extremity of peril'. So Catullus, xiv. 151, "supremo in tempore".

2. There is possibly a play on the words *deducte*—*duce*.

3. *quis*. The question is rhetorical, and does not require an answer. It simply expresses a pleased surprise. Of course the only person or power that could have restored the exile to his country was Augustus.

3. *Quiritem*, 'a citizen once more', no longer *capitis minor*, as an exile would be. This is better than to contrast it with *miles*, 'a man of peace'.

5. *prime*, 'first', 'dearest'.

5. *sodalium*, 'comrades'. The word expresses the easy intimacy of equals, and no question of comparison between Pompeius and the friends of after years—Virgil, Varius, Maecenas.

7. *fregi*. Orelli takes this to mean 'made shorter'; Wickham refers to *Odes* I. i. 20, "partem solido demere de die"; Page translates 'defeated'. The epithet *morantem* does not, it must be confessed, suit either rendering very well. On the whole it is possibly better to speak of taking a part out of than of breaking the back of a lingering day, a process which would hardly "make it move along very fast and pleasantly", as Page puts it. 'Shorter' expresses the sense, but does not explain the collocation of *fregi morantem*.

7. *coronatus* may be taken as a middle participle followed by *capillos*, 'while I garlanded my locks, that glistened with Syrian perfume'.

8. *malobathro*, probably a kind of bay, and thence the perfumed oil extracted from it. It is called Syrian because it was obtained from the further east through Syrian traders. The Elder Pliny, however (but he is not always to be trusted), declares that the plant grows in Syria. So in *Odes* II. xi. 16 we have *Assyria nardo*.

9. *Philippos et celerem fugam*, 'the headlong rout of Philippi', an instance of hendiadys, as "pateris libamus et auro" (Verg. *Georg.* ii. 192).

10. *sensi*, 'I know to my cost'. The word is often used, says Orelli, of grievous and painful circumstances.

10. *relicta non bene parmula*. Horace is thinking of Alcaeus's confession of having lost his arms, which the enemy had hung up in a temple, while he had himself escaped with his life. With this precedent before him, and aware that a half-humorous confession of weakness (cf. the "imbellis et firmus parum" of IV. 16) would take the sting out of any reproach that might be addressed to him, he allows that he fled in the hour of defeat. The language is carefully suited to the occasion, the diminutive *parmula*, 'my poor little shield', lessening the force of *non bene*, which would otherwise mean, as Page says, 'most disgracefully'. The same effect is carried on by the following lines. 'Valour itself was vanquished that day, and the boldest warriors bit the dust.'

12. *tetigere mento* = were laid low. This is far better than the interpretation favoured by Orelli that the vanquished came in suppliant guise, bending to the very ground, to beg their lives from the conqueror. Some, doubtless, did so, but it weakens the force of the poet's language. *turpe* may mean 'foul with blood', or simply 'dishonouring'. All defeat, especially if it follows the confidence implied in minaces, is in a way dishonouring.

13. *Mercurius*, the special protector of poets, whom Horace includes under the description of *virī Mercuriales*, II. xvii. 29.

14. *denso aëre* burlesques rather than satirizes Homer. No one feels any anomaly when Aphrodite rescues Paris and Apollo Aeneas by enveloping them in mist (*ἡέρι πολλῷ*); but to transfer the

idea to the prosaic reality of Philippi was a piece of humour. Silius Italicus in the *Punica* employs this mythological machinery with all seriousness.

15. *resorbens*, 'sucking you back'. The image is of the wave that has thrown up an object on the shore, dragging it back as it retreats.

16. *fretis aestuosis*, 'with its boiling surf'.

17. *obligatam*, 'vowed', *i.e.* to which you have bound yourself.

17. *redde*, 'duly pay', *reddo* being used of discharging an obligation.

19. *lauru mea*. "You haven't found the bay on the battlefield; come and look for it in the poet's peaceful garden" (Wickham).

21. *Massico*, another of the fine wines of Italy. It came from a district in northern Campania.

22. *ciboria*, cups made to resemble in shape the shell or the leaf of the Egyptian bean. Compare *phaselus*, by which a similar resemblance in a boat is expressed.

22. *exple*, 'fill to the full'.

23. *conchis*, shells, real or imitation.

23. *udo* has been translated 'fresh' and 'pliant', representing the *πολυγνάμπτω τε σελινῳ* of Theocritus (vii. 68). There does not seem to be any example of this use of *udus*, but the Greek *ὑγρός* has this sense. Similarly Virgil translates *ὑγρὸς ἀκανθός* by *mollis acanthus*. Possibly the *udum apium* may represent the *ὑγροσέλινον* or marsh parsley, the fragrant variety (*εὐόδομοις σελίνοις*, Theoc. iii. 23) used for chaplets.

24, 25. *deproperare curat*, 'charges himself with speeding'.

25. *curative*. At full length the sentence would be, "quis deproperare apio coronas (curat), curative myrto".

25. *Venus*. The best (not the highest) throw with the *tali*, knuckle-bones of sheep or goats (Anglice *dibs*), when all the four showed different numbers, *i.e.* 6, 4, 3, 1. The *talus* had four sides only (as distinguished from the *tessera*, which was a cube, and was identical with the die used among ourselves), and the numbers 2 and 5 were not employed.

25, 26. *arbitrum bibendi*. Cf. *Odes* I. iv. 18, "regna vini sortiere talis". Among the chief functions of the 'master of the feast' was to settle the proportion of wine and water in the mixture drunk, and the number of the *cyathi* or ladles which were put into the cups at each toast. He had also to determine whether these were to be drained at a draught (bumpers) or otherwise.

27. *Edonis*. The Edoni were a Thracian tribe. The Thracians

were notorious for their hard drinking, often ending in quarrel. So *Odes* I. xxviii. 1, 2:

“Natis in usum laetitiae scyphis
pugnare Thracum est”.

So “Threicia amystis” (*Odes* I. xxxvi. 14), the Thracian draught, in which the cup was drained at a breath, *i.e.* without closing the lips.

28. *dulce furere*, cf. *Odes* III. xix. 18, “*insanire iuvat*”, and IV. xii. 25, “*dulce est desipere in loco*”.

X.

Friend, famous as dramatist, statesman, and orator, you have undertaken a perilous task, the story of the civil war. How you will stir our hearts by your tale! Truly Rome has suffered woes without number. But such themes are not for me.

1. See Introduction, pp. 23, 24.

2. *vitia*, ‘crimes’.

2. *modos*, ‘phases’, as we use *moods* to express a man’s phases of temper; possibly the ‘methods’ by which it was conducted.

3. *ludum Fortunae*. Cf. VIII. 37.

4. *principum*, both *triumvirates* may be intended. Augustus would be as likely to resent the inclusion of his uncle Julius as the inclusion of himself.

5. *uncta*, ‘steeped’. The word is often used of the application of noxious or unclean substances.

5. *cruoribus*, the plural expresses quantity or the multitude of occasions on which blood had been shed; *cruor* always means blood from a wound.

6. *opus* is in apposition to the whole of the subject described in the preceding lines. Cf. Tac. *Hist.* i., “*opus aggredior opimum casibus*”, &c.

6. *aleae*, ‘hazard’, *lit.* ‘die’, peculiarly applicable to the dangers which cannot be foreseen, but seem as dependent on mere chance as the throw of dice.

7, 8. Page quotes Macaulay, *Hist. of England*, c. vi., “When the historian of this troubled reign (James II.) turns to Ireland, his task becomes peculiarly difficult and delicate. His steps—to borrow the fine image used on a similar occasion by a Roman poet—are as the thin crust of ashes beneath which the lava is still glowing.” There was, it is true, no active volcano in Italy proper (the volcanic nature of Vesuvius was not suspected before the eruption of 79 A.D.), but Aetna was very active between the years 49–32 B.C. So Verg. *Georg.* i. 471, *seq.*—

“Quotiens Cyclopus effervere in agros
vidimus undantem ruptis fornacibus Aetnam,
flammarumque globos liquefactaque volvere saxa”.

ἔστι πῦρ ὑπὸ τῇ σποδιῇ is quoted from Callimachus, and “ignotos vestigia ferre per ignes” from Propertius (I. v. 5).

9. paullum, more commonly *paullisper*, ‘for a while’.

9. severae, ‘stately’. So in *Sat.* I. x. 42—

“Pollio regum
facta canit pede ter percusso”.

11. res publicas, ‘the history of the state’.

11. ordinaris, ‘shall have set forth in order’, as in *St. Luke*, i. 1., where the Vulgate has “multi conati sunt ordinare”.

11. grande munus, ‘your lofty task’.

12. cothurno, ‘buskin’, *i.e.* tragic drama, as opposed to the *soccus*=comedy. The ablative follows *repetes*. ‘You will return with or on the Attic buskin.’

13-16. Pollio’s eloquence was employed both at the bar and in the senate, while his military genius had been proved by the honours of a triumph.

13. reis. It was held to be a much more honourable task to defend than to accuse. So Cicero, in the first of the series of the orations against Verres, almost apologizes for appearing as a prosecutor. “Si quis forte miratur me, qui tot annos in causis iudiciisque publicis ita sim versatus ut defenderim multos laeserim neminem” (*Div. in Q. Caecilium*, i.)

14. consulenti, ‘deliberating’.

15. laurus. The victorious general carried a laurel bough in his hand and wore a wreath of laurel. This laurel wreath he was permitted to wear for the remainder of his life at public spectacles.

17. cornu. This was shaped like a **C**; the *lituus* was straight, with a curved end.

18. perstringis. Perhaps it is safer to take this difficult word as meaning ‘trouble’. The ears are troubled by being deafened, the eyes by being blinded (*perstringere* is used of this effect also). The sense of ‘hurting’ generally we have in such an expression as “atque animum patriae strinxit pietatis imago” (*Verg. Aen.* ix. 294).

19. fugaces is proleptic: ‘terrifies the horses into flight’.

20. voltus, used especially of the *expression* of the face. The sudden flash of arms turns the horses to flight and puts the expression of fear into the eyes of the riders.

21. audire, ‘to hear of’, *i.e.* to read of. This is certainly to be preferred to the interpretation ‘to hear them’ haranguing their

troops, &c., though, as Wickham well remarks, this suits the preceding stanza better than the other sense. But to 'hear of' must be understood of lines 23, 24, and it is better to take a sense which will suit both divisions of the stanzas. Page pertinently observes that the addition of the phrase *non indecoro pulvere sordidos* precludes this interpretation: "it is as absurd to say 'I hear great leaders begrimed', &c., as it would be to say 'I heard Mr. Gladstone in evening dress'." It may be added that generals harangued their troops *before* an action, and that they are *pulvere sordidi* whether *indecoro* or *non indecoro* after it.

24. *atrocem*, 'stubborn'. Silius, *Pun.* xiii. 369, "*atrox virtus*", and vi. 369, "*cognita et olim | atrox illa fides*" of Regulus. Cf. XX. 35, "*Catonis nobile letum*".

25-28. The mention of Cato naturally suggests the bloody battle of Thapsus (April 6th, B.C. 46), followed a few days after by Cato's death at Utica.

"Juno and any other god that, friendly to the African race, had departed, powerless to save, from the land they could not avenge, now offered [the verb is singular though it has two subjects] the descendants of the conquerors as a funeral offering to Jugurtha." For gods leaving a conquered city or country, cf. Verg. *Aen.* ii. 352—

"Excessere omnes adytis arisque relictis
Di quibus imperium hoc steterat".

So Livy, v. 22, where Juno is invited and consents to leave Veii for Rome.

29. *pinguior*, cf. Verg. *Georg.* i. 491—

"Nec fuit indignum superis bis sanguine nostro
Emathiam et latos Haemi pinguescere campos".

30. *impia*, cf. II. 9.

31. *Medis*, *i.e.* *Persae* and so Parthians.

32. *Hesperiae*, 'Italian' because western. Elsewhere Horace uses the word of Spain.

33. "What sea or stream", &c.

34. *Daunia* = Apulian, Apulia being so called from a legendary king Daunus; thence Italy generally.

35, 36. Page well remarks: "Note the assonance of these lines and the powerful effect produced by the repetition of the vowel 'o', and the combination 'or'. The peculiar rhythm of line 36 adds to the effect. Before breaking off from his warlike theme Horace seems to desire to show by the very sound and shape of his verse how discomposing and dangerous such subjects were liable to become to his gentle muse".

37-40. Orelli puts a colon at *neniae*, and takes *ne* as the prohibi-

tive particle, usually followed by the perf. subj., and sometimes, but very seldom, by the pres. subj. Wickham, who is followed by Page, puts a comma, and makes *ne* follow *quaere*. Cf. *Odes* iv. ix., "*ne forte credas . . . non si priores*"; I. xxxiii., "*Albi, ne doleas . . . insignem tenui fronte Lycorida Cyri torret amor*", and, possibly, II. iv., "*ne sit ancillae . . . prius insolentem*" (where Page prefers this construction in his note, but punctuates his text differently. *Edition of 1883*).

37. *iocis*, 'joyous themes'.

38. *retractes*, 'handle again', 'take up anew'.

38. *neniae*, 'dirge'. Simonides was famous for his *θρήνοι* (dirges), and his *ἐπιγράμματα* (sepulchral inscriptions). He was born in Ceos. Hence the epithet *Ceae*.

39. *Dionaeo*. Dione was the mother of Venus (*Il.* v. 405). So in Verg. *Ecl.* ix. 47, "*Ecce Dionaei processit Caesaris astrum*".

40. *leviore plectro*, instrumental with *quaere*, or possibly an abl. of quality after *modos*. The *plectrum* (*πλήσσω*) was the bow with which the strings (as of the violin, &c.) were touched.

XI.

This ode must be regarded in close connection with the six that follow and form the magnificent opening of the Third Book. In all of them Horace sings the praises of temperance, simplicity of life, patriotism and religion. He seeks, doubtless at the imperial command, to do for the social and political virtues of his countrymen what Virgil had striven to do for the agricultural interests of Italy and for the legendary glories of Rome. This poem is an invective against the luxury of the day, especially as shown in the building of magnificent villas and the conversion of cultivated land into fish-ponds and pleasure-grounds.

1. *regiae*, this properly means 'belonging to a king', while *regalis* is used for 'regal', 'of royal splendour'. Cf. note on VII. 6, 7. *Regius* would give a more sinister impression than *regalis*. The men that owned such places would have the despotic temper of the *rex*.

2, 3. *latius extenta*, &c., enlarged to wider bounds than the Lucrine Lake. This lake was a salt-water lagoon, separated from the Gulf of Baiae by a bank of sand, on which a road was constructed. As this road was a mile long we have in it one of the dimensions of the *Lacus*. Orelli quotes from Seneca (*Controv.* iv. 5.), "*navigabilia piscinarum freta*".

4. *caelebs platanus*. The plane was a very favourite tree, for ornamental or pleasure-grounds, with the Romans. Its foliage was too thick to allow it to be used for training vines. Hence it is called *caelebs*. So *Epod.* ii., "*adulta vitium propagine altas maritat*

populos". Seneca contrasts the "maritam ulmum" with the "sterilem platanum". *Caelebs* is always used of an unmarried male, but in the union between the vine and the tree the vine is the male; its use here is therefore exceptional.

5. *evincet*, 'will drive out'; cf. our word 'eviction'.

6. *copia narium*, 'all the wealth of the nostrils' is the literal rendering of this phrase. This might mean 'all that the nostrils could have for their enjoyment'; possibly *nares* may be used for the sweet scents which minister to the sense of smell.

7, 8. *odorem* and *fertilibus* are contrasted by being put close together. 'These flowers will scatter fragrance over the olive-yards which brought a more substantial return to their former possessor.'

9. *laurea*; sc. *arbos* = *laurus*.

10. *ictus fervidos*, 'fiery darts' of the sun. Cf. our word, 'sun-stroke'. So Lucretius has the phrases *verbera solis* and *tela diei*, &c. So Tennyson, "the scarlet shafts of sunrise", though this is used of the form rather than the force of the rays.

11. *praescriptum*, 'ordered'.

12. *intonsi Catonis*; the younger Scipio is said to have first set the fashion of shaving daily. He was a younger contemporary of the elder Cato (Cato 234-149; Scipio 185-129). Cato represented the conservative, Scipio the reforming party in both political and social matters. Ovid (*Fasti*, vi. 263) has "hic erat intonsi regia magna Numae".

12. *auspiciis*, 'by the example' or 'guidance'. It is a metaphor from military customs. The general in command of an army took the 'auspices', i.e. obtained the sanction of the divine powers for his proceedings. *Auspicia* therefore is equivalent to 'guidance', 'leadership'.

13. *census*, the result of the assessment made on all citizens (*censeo*), i.e. 'income'.

14. *commune*, 'the revenue' = τὸ κοινόν.

14. *decempedis*, the *decempeda* was a standard Roman measure, coming between the *passus* (nearly 5 ft.) and the *actus* (between 116 and 117 ft.). It was otherwise called *pertica*, i.e. 'pole'. It differs from 'ten feet' English measure by 3.504 inches, i.e. ten times the difference between the Roman foot and the English, the former being 11.6496 inches.

15, 16. *opacam excipiebat Arcton*. *Arcton* here is commonly translated 'north wind'. The word in itself might well bear this meaning; *septentriones* is so used. But *opacam* does not suit this sense. A wind could not be called *opacus*, except possibly as the s.w. wind (Notus) is called *albus*, as clearing the sky (*Odes* i. vii. 15). But there is no question of this here. The poet's idea

seems to be this. It would be natural to speak of *excipere solem* when a room is built, as a winter sitting-room sometimes was, to catch the sunshine from rise to set (so Juv. vii. 18, "*algentem rapiat caenatio solem*"). Horace transfers the expression to the opposite aspect. The colonnade is said to catch the north, *i.e.* had a northern aspect only, *opacus* meaning shady as opposed to *lucidus*.

17, 18. We must not insist on the literal meaning of this passage, which would be that there were in the early days of Rome laws forbidding the use of any more costly material for roofing houses than turf.

17. *fortuitum*, 'casual', *i.e.* what might be found anywhere, and therefore cheap.

19, 20. The two ablatives *sumptu* (abl. of 'condition') and *saxo* ('instrument') depend on *decorare*.

20. *novo*, 'newly cut', *i.e.* for the purpose, and so opposed to *fortuitum*.

XII.

There are bounds to all human greatness, the superior power of Jupiter, and the all-embracing doom of death. Contentment is the only true wealth. The man who moderates his desires no fluctuations of fortune trouble, while no wealth or luxury banish care from the soul. For me my humble Sabine home is enough.

1. *profanum vulgus*, the 'unhallowed' or 'uninitiated throng' = *βέβηλος*. The *profanus* was the person not allowed to enter the shrine (*fanum*), or, in the Temple at Jerusalem, not to go beyond the court of the Gentiles. So Virgil (*Aen.* vi. 258, where Aeneas and the Sibyl are about to enter the sacred grove of Avernus), "*procul, procul este profani*".

1. *arceo*, 'keep off', *i.e.* 'forbid to approach'. This line expresses the first injunction of the officiating priest, that all the uninitiated were to depart. So Callimachus (*Hymn. in Apoll.* ii. 2), *ἐκάς, ἐκάς, ὅστις ἀλιτρός*.

2. *favete linguis*. Here we have the second injunction—silence. *linguis* is ablative; 'favour', 'assist' the rite as far as speech is concerned. Utter none but propitious words (*εὐφημέϊτε*). This was really equivalent to silence. In order to be sure that no word of evil omen was uttered nothing was said at all. So Virgil (*Aen.* v. 71), "*ore favete omnes*".

2. *carmina*, 'hymns', *i.e.* a new revelation or message from heaven (*non prius audita*).

3. *Musarum sacerdos* = *sacer vates*.

4. *virginibus puerisque*, *i.e.* to the young as the hope of the nation. The *vulgus* of his own contemporaries the poet despairs of;

he addresses himself to the new generation. Possibly—and indeed the idea is of a kindred nature—it may mean that these *carmina* are fit for innocent ears, the sense in which the words *virginibus puerisque* are now commonly used.

With the whole passage compare *Ep̄p.* I. xix. 32—

“Hunc ego, non alio dictum prius ore, Latinus
volgavi fidicen; iuvat immemorata ferentem
ingenuis oculisque legi manibusque teneri”.

5. *proprius greges*, the king is in Homer ποιμήν λαῶν. *Proprius* expresses either the king's ownership of his people or *grex* (a signification which would emphasize the use of *rex* as a ‘despot’, and so hateful to Roman ears), or the limitation of his power to his own people, as opposed to the universal sway of Jupiter. This seems to me preferable; ‘imperium est’ must be supplied from the next line before “in proprios greges”.

8. *supercilio*, *super-cilium*, i.e. ‘above the eye-lid’, or ‘that which conceals’ (*celo*, καλύπτω); in other words the ‘eye-brow’. So Hom. *Il.* i. 528—

ἦ καὶ κυανέησιν ἐπ’ ὀφρύσι νεῦσε Κρονίων
. . . μέγαν δ’ ἐλέλιξεν Ὀλύμπου.

9. *est ut*, ‘it is possible that’, ‘it may be that’.

9, 10. *ordinet arbusta sulcis*; the *arbusta* are the ‘trees’ on which, in Italian fashion, the vines are trained. These, when the vineyard was formed, were regularly planted in ranks that resembled military orders. So Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 277, “indulge ordinibus”, where the poet draws out the military comparison at length.

11. *descendat*. This was literally true, as the *Campus* (Martius), where the elections were held, was low ground (near the Tiber), to which it was necessary to come down from the hills. Cf. I. 7. The word is also used generally of those engaging in conflict. So Suet. *Aug.* 96, of Augustus, “apud Actium descendenti in aciem”.

11. *petitor*. There were still, in theory, candidates, and the elections were held in the *Campus* (Tiberius transferred them to the senate). But the whole thing was a sham. The language of Horace, however, would please Augustus, who loved to pose as the restorer of the Republic; and indeed a certain freedom of choice, as there were certainly more candidates than offices, was allowed.

12. *moribus, fama*, ‘character’, ‘repute’, opposed to the high birth expressed by *generosior*.

14. *aequa*, ‘impartial’.

14. *Necessitas* = *Fatum*.

15. *sortitur*, ‘puts to the hazard of the lot’.

Destiny is pictured shaking the urn (literally the urn itself shakes), in which are the lots with names written upon them. In an election

the urn in which the lots were placed was filled with water, and the lots floated; when the water was poured out, that which came out first was the choice. But this can hardly be the image here. It must be rather of some such method as that described in *Iliad* vii. when the Greek chieftains determine by lot who shall meet Hector in single combat. Every man marks a lot; they are put into a helmet; Hector shakes it, and the lot of Ajax leaps out. Cf. *sors exitura* of *Odes* II. iii. 27.

17-21. The reference is to the well-known story of Dionysius (the Elder) and his flatterer Damocles (Cicero relates it in *Tuscul. Disp.* v. 21).

17. *impia*. The adjective properly belongs to the antecedent of cui. 'The wicked man over whose neck', &c.

18. *Siculae*, because the scene of the story is laid in Sicily, and because the luxury of Sicilian entertainments was proverbial.

19. *elaborabunt*, 'make (for all their pains)', expressed by the emphasizing particle 'e'.

19. *saporem*, 'flavour' or 'savour'.

21. *somnus*. Page appropriately quotes, as illustrating the word and its emphatic repetition—

"Methought I heard a voice cry, 'Sleep no more!
Macbeth doth murder sleep'—the innocent sleep,
Sleep that knits up the ravelled sleeve of care".

(*Macbeth*, ii. 2.)

22. *lenis*. So in the same passage, "Sleep, *gentle* sleep, how have I frightened thee!"

21, 22. Connect *agrestium virorum* with *domos*.

24. *Tempe* is a neuter plural (*Τέμπεα*, *Τέμπη*), the pass between Olympus and Ossa through which the Peneus flows. It was a wild ravine, and not the scene of sylvan beauty which the poets conventionally represent it to have been, though Orelli calls it *vallis amoenissima*. The word is used of any valley.

25. Orelli quotes Publius Syrus: "Quod volt habet, qui velle, quod satis est, potest". *satis* implies the idea of 'and no more'. Cf. *Epp.* I. ii. 16, "Quod satis est cui contingit, nil amplius optet".

26-28. The contented man does not speculate in trading ventures.

27. *Arcturi*. Arcturus sets, the Haedus rises, in the month of October. Ancient navigation was commonly suspended shortly after the autumnal equinox. Cf. *Acts*, xxvii. 9, "The fast was now already past", the 'fast' being the Atonement about October 10.

28. *impetus*, 'onset'.

29-32. The contented man does not build hopes on large gains from agriculture.

29. Understand 'desiderantem quod satis est sollicitant' from the previous stanza.

29. *verberatae*, 'lashed'; so in *Epp.* I. viii. 8, 9, "Haud quia grando | contuderit vites".

30. *fundus mendax*. Cf. *Epp.* I. vii. 87, "spem mentita seges".

30-32. The fruit tree (*arbor felix*), especially the olive and the vine, blamed deluges of rain, drought, or excessive cold.

32. *sidera*, probably the 'dog-star', but cf. II. 61.

32. *iniquas*, 'unkindly', opposed to *aequus*.

33-48. Cf. XI.

33. The splendid buildings that encroached on the farm encroach also on the sea. The fishes find their native waters narrower.

34. *molibus*, 'masses of stone' for foundations.

34-36. *frequens...cum famulis*, the words seem to be joined together to bring out the obvious meaning, the contractor with his crowd of attendants.

36, 37. *terrae fastidiosus*, 'grown weary of the land'. The phrase indicates a restless desire for change. Cf. Lucretius, i. 1672, where the restlessness of the wealthy Roman is described, as also Matthew Arnold's fine poem, "Obermann Once More":—

"In his cool hall, with haggard eyes,
The Roman noble lay;
He drove abroad in furious guise
Along the Appian way.
He made a feast, drank fierce and fast,
And crowned his hair with flowers;
No easier nor no quicker passed
The impracticable hours".

37. *Timor*, forebodings, and therefore subjective, coming from the man's own thoughts; *Minae*, 'threatenings', objective, coming from without.

38. *scandunt*, 'climb'. Build where he will, they follow him.

39. *triremi*, a private yacht, *priva triremis* (*Epp.* I. i. 93).

41. *Phrygius lapis*, a particularly fine marble (white with red spots) that was brought from Synnada in Phrygia.

42. *sidus* may mean the sun.

43. *delenit*, 'soothes'.

43. *usus*, 'wearing'. The adjective *clarior* belongs properly to *purpurarum* ('the wearing of purples brighter than a star'), but is transferred by hypallage to *usus*.

44. *Achaemenium*, *i.e.* Persian. The royal dynasty of Persia was traced up through Xerxes and Darius to Achaemenes. 'Persian' was synonymous with 'luxurious'.

44. *costum*, a perfume made from a certain aromatic plant.

45. *invidendis postibus*, 'portals that must rouse envy': *postibus* is probably an abl. of quality, 'a hall of', &c., and 'towering high in the new fashion'.

46. *moliar*, 'construct'. The word is used of difficult or elaborate operation. *atrium*, the 'hall' or receiving-room of the mansion, where the *imagines* of the house were kept, and where the owner saw his visitors.

48. *operosiores*, 'full of', *i.e.* 'bringing trouble'; also used as 'taking trouble'; cf. double sense of *careful*.

XIII.

The poet recommends for the rising generation the training of frugal life and military discipline. With the virtues of the soldier must also be cultivated those of the civilian—independence, uprightness, and good faith.

1. *amice pati* is said by Orelli to be a peculiar usage. It is not unlike *aequo animo ferre* and its opposite *inique ferre*. But it is stronger; as Page remarks, it is almost an instance of *oxymoron*. We may compare the phrase "suffer gladly", ἡδεώς ἀνέχεσθε (2 Cor. ix. 19).

1. *pauperiem angustam*, cf. "angusta domi res", and "pauperiem et duros perferre labores" (Verg. *Aen.* vi. 437). "Vixit in summa pauperie et paene inopia" (Suet. *Vitae Gram.* II) expresses the meaning of the word. It is not absolute want but narrow means.

2, 3. *robustus* and *acri militia* are both connected with *condiscat*, but the former may be conveniently taken with it.

3. *condiscat*. The prefix *con* strengthens the verb.

3. *Parthos*. Cf. V. 22.

4. *eques*, possibly emphatic. The young Roman was to be a match for the Parthian in his own peculiar mode of warfare, cf. V. 51.

5, 6. *sub divo*, 'under the open sky' (implying hardship). *trepidis in rebus*, 'in perilous adventure'.

7. *matrona*, 'wife'. This word and *adulta virgo* are both subjects of *inspiret*. It will be convenient to translate, 'Him let the wife, him let the full-grown daughter of some warring prince behold from the hostile walls and sigh', &c. The whole passage expresses the attitude and emotion of the *daughter*.

9. *eheu*, expresses the sigh and includes the idea of fear, which is naturally followed by the conjunction *ne*.

9. *rudis agminum*, unskilled in battle, possibly contrasted, as Marshall suggests, with the warlike experience of the young Roman.

10. *sponsus regius*. Orelli instances Coroebus (Verg. *Aen.* ii. 341), who had come to Troy to win the hand of the Princess Cassandra.

11. *tactu* depends upon *asperum*, 'savage', *i.e.* 'dangerous to touch'.

11. *cruenta*, 'bloodthirsty', or 'cruel'.

13. Perhaps the poet's reason for the necessity of daring in the young soldier, perhaps an expression of the soldier's own feeling.

14. *mors* carries on the meaning of *mori*. Cf. Tyrt. vii. 1—

τεθνάμεναι γὰρ καλὸν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι πεσόντα
ἄνδρ' ἀγαθόν, περὶ ᾧ πατρίδι μαρνόμενον.

14. *persequitur*, 'follows hard after'.

16. *poplitibus*, 'the ham' or 'back of the knee'.

17. *virtus*, translate 'virtue'. It is the independence of the citizen. Horace passes from the qualifications of the soldier to those of the civilian. In doing so he takes up something of the Stoic strain. His ideal citizen is the wise man, the *sapiens*, whose honours do not depend on the breath of popular favour, who is, in virtue of his wisdom, a king, or, to use language more agreeable to Roman ears, consul or any other popular magistrate. Cf. *Odes* IV. ix. 39, "consulque non unius anni | sed quoties bonus atque fidus | iudex honestum praetulit utili".

17. *repulsae*, the technical word for defeat at the polls.

17. *sordidus* has also political associations, suggesting the mourning (*sordes*) worn by accused persons and their friends.

18. *intaminatis*, not found elsewhere in classical Latin. *Incontaminatus* occurs in Livy and Varro.

18. *honoribus*, the usual word for magistracies.

19. *securae*. These were the axes, symbols of power, carried in the midst of the *fasces* by the lictors who walked before the magistrates. In the city, indeed, *fasces* were without the *securae*, because military rule did not prevail there. For other particulars see *Dictionary of Antiquities*, *sub v.*

20. *arbitrio*, 'by the judgment'.

20. *popularis aurae*, 'the breath of popular favour'. So Verg. *Aen.* vi. 817 of Ancus Martius, "nunc quoque iam nimium gaudens popularibus auris", though the application is somewhat different. Cicero (*Pro Cluentio*, xlvii.), "ventum quendam popularem".

21. *immeritis mori*, 'who did not deserve to die', 'too good

for death'. The *magnae animae* (Tac. *Agric.* xlvii.) for whom philosophers reserved immortality. Those who believed in a future life limited it to the conspicuously good or bad; to the mass of mankind it was *via negata*. We may compare the doctrine of "conditional immortality" among ourselves.

23. *coetus* = *coitus*, a 'gathering', 'herd'.

23. *udam*, 'moist', 'misty', opposed to *liquidus aether* (Wickham).

25. The poet dwells on the idea of the few deserving as opposed to the many undeserving (πολλοί τοι νάρθηκοφόροι, Βάκχοι δέ γε παῦροι). The privileged must remember this, and not vulgarise their gifts. Hence there is a connection between the *vulgares* of line 23 and the *vulgarit* of line 27. Orelli quotes from Plutarch a favourite saying of Augustus, ἔστι καὶ σιγᾶς ἀκίνδυνον γέρας.

26. *Cereris sacrum*, probably of the Eleusinian mysteries; there were *Cerealia* at Rome, but we do not hear of any special secret or obligation to silence. For the sentiment cf. Aesch. *S. c. Thebas*, 602-4—

ἡ γὰρ συνεισβὰς πλοῖον εὐσεβὴς ἀνὴρ
ναύταισι θερμοῖς καὶ πανουργίᾳ τινὶ
δῶλεν ἀνδρῶν σὺν θεοπτύστῳ γένει.

and Soph. *Antig.* 372-4—

μήτ' ἐμοὶ παρέστιος
γένοιτο μήτ' ἴσον
φρονῶν ὅς τὰδ' ἔρδει.

27. *vulgarit*. The omission of the conjunction after *veto* is unusual, though frequent enough after such common words as *fac*, *volo*, &c.

29. *phaselon*, see IX. 21 (note).

29. *Diespiter*, an archaic word, possibly used in invocations and other ceremonials.

30. *incesto*, 'unholy' = *parum castus*.

30. *integrum*. So "integer vitae scelerisque purus" (*Odes* I. xxiii.).

32. *deseruit*, 'abandoned'.

32. *pede Poena claudo*, ὑστεροφθόρος: cf. the proverb, "The mills of God grind slowly, but they grind exceeding small".

XIV.

The man who is firm in righteous purpose is undisturbed by all the changes and chances of life, all terrors human and divine. It was thus that the heroes of old won their way to heaven; thus that Romulus overcame the hatred of Juno against the Trojan race, was admitted

into the halls of Olympus, and left the inheritance of world-wide dominion to his posterity.

Then comes a warning against any attempt to restore Troy, of which more will be said in its place.

1. He is righteous, and is steadfast in adhering to the decisions to which his righteousness comes.

2. iubentium = κελεύειν, peremptory counsel.

3. voltus, the 'look', 'expression'. So Juv. viii. 81—

"Phalaris licet imperet ut sis
falsus et admoto dictet periuria tauro".

4. mente solida, the ablative of place or respect; *solidus* = rock-like. Orelli quotes Seneca (*de Const. Sap.* iii.), "quemadmodum projecti in altum scopuli mare frangunt, ita sapientis animus solidus est", and Page quotes Tennyson (*Will*) of the man "whose will is strong":

"For him nor moves the loud world's random mock,
Nor all calamity's hugest waves confound,
Who seems a promontory of rock", &c.

5. dux, 'ruler', so *Odes* I. xiii. 15, "arbiter Hadriae".

6. Cf. V. 3, "dextera sacras iaculatus arces".

7. orbis, probably the universe, or possibly the 'round' of the sky. "Note the irregular consecution, the indicative expressing the *certainty*, the subjunctive the *hypothesis*." (Page.)

9. arte, 'quality' of persevering in well-doing.

9. vagus. Orelli quotes Eurip. *Hercules Furens*, οὐκ ἂν ἴδοις ἕτερον πολυμοχθότερον πολυπλαγκτότερόν τε θνητῶν.

10. enisus, 'striving upward' out of the lower region.

10. igneus, 'starry', the stars being frequently spoken of as *ignes*. For the general subject of elevation to divine honours cf. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 38, "optimos quippe mortalium altissima cupere; sic Herculem et Liberum inter Graecos, Quirinum apud nos deum numero additos".

12. purpureo, bright with the light of immortality; *purpureus* often expresses brightness. Orelli says "non de voltu sed de labris purpureis intelligendum", but understands it metaphorically, not as do some, of a mouth literally empurpled with the draught of nectar.

13. merentem depends on hac. So Ovid, *Trist.* v. iii. 19—

"Ipse quoque aetherias meritis invectus es arces,
quo non exiguo facta labore via est".

His service to man was the introduction of civilization, typified by the vine ("pocula inventis Acheloia miscuit uvis"), and the tamed

tigers, which, as Orelli says, are the symbol of barbarism subdued by him.

14. *vexere*, 'carried', *i.e.* to heaven.

16. *Acheronta fugit*. But cf. II. 3. The story of his translation is told by Livy, i. 16, and Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 495, "*Hinc tonat, hinc missis abruptitur ignibus aether*".

The reason for the earnest dissuasion that follows against a supposed plan of rebuilding Troy presents a problem for which there does not appear to be any solution. It seems too serious to be an ornamental digression. On the other hand, could there ever have been any need for these dissuasions? It is true that Suetonius attributes to Julius Caesar an intention of making Alexandria or Novum Ilium the capital of the empire. But no one has ever credited Augustus with such design, which indeed seems wholly inconsistent with his zealous efforts to glorify the associations of Rome. Page quotes with approval as "a reasonable solution" Plüss's explanation that the poet wishes to enforce upon his countrymen two lessons: "that (1) they must look upon empire as a responsibility and not as a means of self-enrichment; (2) they must not imagine that they can restore that which has been doomed to destruction, *i.e.* apart from symbolism, they must give up the old republic and accept the new monarchy as the divinely-appointed condition of the continuance of Rome". It must be remembered that something like that which the poet deprecates did actually happen three centuries and a half later. But perhaps it will be sufficient to say that the poet seizes an opportunity of introducing a splendid panegyric on the greatness of Rome. Among the mortals whose virtues have won for them the honours of immortality is Quirinus, the deified founder of Rome. He, like two of his compeers, Bacchus and Hercules, has had to overcome the jealousy of the queen of heaven. This jealousy she is represented as solemnly renouncing. She forgets her personal wrongs and her resentment against a perjured race. The children of the scion of Troy shall rule the world. Still she must be consistent. The doom of Troy itself must never be reversed.

17. *consiliantibus*. Seneca, in his pungent satire on Claudius (*Apocolocyntosis*), introduces the gods deliberating whether they shall admit the new claimant for Olympian honours.

18. *Ilion, Ilion*, "it was Troy that I hated, and Troy is destroyed". (Wickham.)

19. *fatalis*, 'tool of destiny'.

19. *incestus*, cf. XIII. 30. The two adjectives express between them the whole action of fate. Troy was doomed, but the doom was brought about by unrighteousness.

19. *iudex*. The reference is to the judgment of Paris when he gave the prize of beauty to Aphrodite. The story is post-Homeric, the passage in II. xxiv. being in all probability spurious.

20. *mulier peregrina*, 'the alien woman', whom the goddess does not condescend to name.

20, 21. *vertit in pulverem*, 'overthrew into', or 'laid low in the dust', seems better than Wickham's 'reduced to dust'.

21. *ex quo (tempore)* follows *damnatum*.

21. *destituit*. Cicero has (*pro Rosc. Amer.* xl.) "decepit, destituit", as nearly synonymous.

22. *mercede pacta*, better taken as an ablative after *destituit* (equivalent to a word of 'depriving') than as absolute.

22. Laomedon defrauded Neptune and Apollo of the wages which he had promised to pay them for building the walls of Troy.

22. *mihi*, by me, after *damnatum*.

24. *duce*, *i.e.* Laomedon, not Priam.

25. *adulterae*, the genitive after *hospes* rather than the dative after *splendet*, 'decks himself out for'. It would be harsh to speak of Paris as a *hospes*, a guest, without a qualifying word to show whose guest he had been.

25. *splendet* = *καλλεῖ τε στίλβων καὶ εἵμασιν*.

28. *Hectoreis opibus*. The singular *ope* would be more usual than the plural to express by Hector's help. For the services of Hector, cf. Verg. *Aen.* ii. 291-2, "si Pergama dextra | defendi posset etiam hac defensa fuissent".

28. *refringit*, 'shatters', 'repulses'.

29. *ductum* = *productum*, 'protracted'.

29. *seditionibus*, 'quarrels', 'factions'. *Seditio* is literally a 'going apart'.

30. *resedit*, 'has settled down', *i.e.* come to an end.

30. *protinus*, 'forthwith', 'from this hour'.

31. *nepotem*, 'grandson', because son of Juno's own son, who was Mars.

32. "Juno will not name Rhea Silvia (see note on lines 19, 20). There is probably additional scorn in the close conjunction of 'peperit'—'sacerdos' (= a vestal)." (Wickham.)

33. *redonabo*. Page, following Nauck, explains this word as 'I will give up', the *re* as in *reddo* expressing the payment of something due. Orelli, followed by Marshall and Wickham, makes it equal to *condonabo*. This seems to suit better with *iras* than does the other meaning. There must, however, be "a slight zeugma involved", as Marshall remarks, "in the use of the word both with *iras* and *nepotem*".

33. *illum ego*. The juxtaposition is emphatic. 'Such as he is, such as I am.'

33, 34. *lúcidas sedes* = *arces igneas*, cf. line 10.

34. *ducere*, 'to quaff'. The various reading of *discere*, 'to grow accustomed to', is discussed at length by Orelli, who remarks, however, that "de nectare potando nescio quid habet ridiculi".

35. *adscribi*, 'to be enrolled among', used of soldiers, colonists, &c. Page suggests, but Wickham doubts, a reference to the ranks of the senators in *ordinibus*. Possibly the word *consiliantibus* (line 17) gives it some probability.

35. *quietis* is an allusion to the Epicurean notion of gods undisturbed by mortal troubles; so in *Sat.* I. v. 101, "namque deos didici securum agere aevom".

37. *dum* = *dummodo*, 'provided that'.

38. *exsules*, with a certain touch of scorn, cf. Verg. *Aen.* vii. 359, "Exulibusne datur ducenda Lavinia Teucris".

39. *beati*, emphatic, 'let them have power and wealth'.

41. *insultet*, 'leap upon', 'trample'. The poet transfers to the cattle the feeling of contempt which an enemy might feel, as in *Il.* iv. 496, *τύμβῳ ἐπιθρώσκων Μενελάου κυδαλμοιο*, and Eurip. *Elect.* 327 *Αἰγίσθῳ ἐπιθρώσκει τάφῳ* of Agamemnon.

42. *stet.* "Emphatic both by itself and by its position." (Page.)

42. *Capitolium*, as the visible centre and symbol of Roman dominion.

43. *triumphatis*, the passive of *triumpho* (properly a neuter verb, used by itself and with the preposition *de*) is used in the passive as nearly equal to *vinco* by the poets and post-Augustan prose-writers. So Verg. *Georg.* iii. 33, "*triumphatae gentes*"

44. *ferox*, 'haughty', 'in her pride'.

44. *dare iura*, of sovereignty, 'impose her rule'.

45. *late* to be joined with *horrenda*, as in *Odes* III. xvii. 9, "late tyrannus", and Verg. *Aen.* i. 21, "*populum late regem*".

46-48. From the west, where the 'intervening sea divides Europe from Africa', to the east, 'where the rule', &c. The description takes in the whole length of the Mediterranean.

49-52. The first condition is given, the particle *dum* having to be supplied. The ruler of the world must despise the allurements of wealth. 'He must be more resolute in scorning (a somewhat strange use of the infinitive) gold, always best left undiscovered, than in gathering it with hands that seize for human ends all consecrated things.' To connect *humanos in usus* with *rapere* seems better to suit the sense, with *cogere*, the sound.

53. *obstitit*, 'has been set'.

54. *visere*. The word gives the idea of exploring. It governs *partem*, which by a common usage is expressed with the relative.

55. *debacchentur*, 'fiercely rage'. The *de* makes the word more emphatic.

55. *ignes*, 'solar fires'.

56. *pluvii rores*, 'rain', 'dripping rain'. There is a certain zeugma in making this a subject of *debacchentur*, a word more applicable to the *ignes*. Generally the poet expresses the torrid and the frigid zones.

57. The second condition, more formally expressed. Rome must not seek to rebuild Troy.

58. *hac lege*, 'on this condition'.

58. *pii* expresses filial duty, from the founded to the founder city.

61, 62. *Troiae fortuna*, much the same as *Troia*, as the genius of a man is much the same as a man. 'Troy's fortune, revived in unlucky hour, shall be visited again with direful disaster.'

64. So Verg. *Aen.* i. 4. 6, "ast ego quae divom incedo regina Iovisque | et soror et coniux".

65. *aëneus*, strong, as of bronze, so "hic murus aeneus esto | nil conscire sibi, nulla pallescere culpa" (Epp. i. i. 60).

66. *auctore Phoebō*, 'with Apollo's help'. Verg. *Georg.* iii. 36, "*Troiae Cynthius auctor*".

67. *excisus*, 'utterly destroyed'.

70. *quo, Musa, tendis*, 'whither go you?' 'on what are you bent?'

70. *pervicax*, 'in your stubbornness'.

72. *tenuare*. So in *Odes* i. vi. 12, "*laudes egregii Caesaris et tuas | culpa deterere ingeni*".

XV.

The poet invokes the muse, emboldened by the belief that he himself enjoys the favour of the sisterhood. This favour saved him in his childhood, at Philippi, and in the other dangers of his life; trusting in this he will brave all peril. And this same favour is the solace of Caesar, and assists him with good and gentle counsels. Before this alliance all hostile powers shall fail, even as the Titans failed before Jupiter.

1. *caelo*. Homer says the muses *αἰδον ἀμβιβόμεναι ὀπὶ καλῇ* in the hall of Olympus, the Homeric heaven (*Il.* i. 604).

2. *longum*, 'sustained'. This is to be an effort made with more than common care.

2. *Calliope*, chief of the muses, goddess of *epic*.

4. The alternatives offered to the muse are three: (1) the voice with the flute to accompany it; (2) the voice by itself; (3) the lute.

This seems better than Wickham's somewhat complicated explanation which reduces the alternatives to two: (1) the voice accompanying the tibia, and so high (*acuta*); or (2) accompanying the cithara and deep (*gravis*). In either case it is necessary to read *citharaque* instead of *citharave*, though the latter is supported by all the MSS.

5. *auditis*, 'do you hear her answer?'

5, 6. *amabilis insania*, 'some fair delusion'.

6. *pios*, 'holy', from which the *profanum volgus* is included.

8. *subeunt* applies more strictly to *aquae*, 'which pleasant streams and breezes traverse'.

9. *me* is emphatic. 'It was I whom.'

9-12. *fabulosae palumbes*, 'the doves of story'.

9. *Vulture in Apulo*. The obvious difficulty here is that in line 9 the mountain *Voltur* is described as being *Apulus*, while in line 10 the poet, wandering on this same mountain, is said to be wandering 'outside the boundary of his native Apulia'. This difficulty is aggravated by the fact that the 'A' in *Apulus* is long, the 'A' in *Apuliae* short, a very strange metrical license. There is, indeed, in certain MSS. a various reading *limina Pulliae*. And this one of the scholiasts explains as meaning 'beyond the door of my nurse Pullia'. This is not attractive. Nothing could be more unlikely than for Horace to introduce the quite unknown name of his nurse into a poem of this serious kind. A number of conjectures have been made, as *abdito*, *arduo*, *arido*, *avio* for *Apulo*, not to speak of what have been suggested for the next line. Page rightly prefers *avio*; but even this is not one of the irresistible kind.

11. *ludo fatigatumque somno*, an adoption of the Homeric *καμάτω ἀδγκότες ἥδὲ καὶ ὕπνῳ* (*Il.* x. 98). It is an instance of *zeugma*. The child was wearied with sport and (overpowered, *oppressum*) with sleep.

12. *palumbes*, 'ring-doves'.

13. *texere*. Orelli quotes some similar stories, as *e.g.* how a nightingale settled on the mouth of the infant Stesichorus, how the infant Pindar was laid on laurel and myrtle leaves and fed by bees with honey.

13. *mirum quod foret*, 'to be a marvel'; the subjunctive expresses a consequence rather than a purpose.

14-16. All three names survive: Acerenza, Sta. Maria de Bandi, Forenza.

14. *nidum*, *i.e.* nestling among the hills.

15. *saltus*, 'woodlands'.

17. *ut* depends upon *mirum*, 'how I could sleep'.

18. *premerer*, 'be covered'.

18. *sacra*, consecrated, the laurel to Apollo, the myrtle to Venus.

20. *non sine dis* = Greek οὐκ ἀθεεῖ or οὐκ ἀνευθε θεῶν (*Il.* v. 185).

20. *animosus*. Page questions, with some reason, the commonly accepted rendering of 'courageous', and suggests 'inspired', supporting it by the cogent argument that the adjective may have any meaning that belongs to the substantive.

21. *Camenae*, the Italian name for the muses, probably connected with *carmen*, as is more clearly seen in the old form *Casmenae*.

21. *vester*, emphatically repeated, 'Yours I am when I', &c.

22. *tollor*, middle, 'I mount' or 'climb'.

22. *Sabinos*, his Sabine farm among the hills (*arduos*).

22. *vester* must be supplied again before *seu*, 'Yours I am whether'.

23. *Praeneste*, now Palestrina, a town on a spur of the Apennines, more than 2000 feet above the sea, and therefore cool (*frigidum*). Juvenal (*iii.* 190) calls it *gelida*.

23. *Tibur supinum*, now Tivoli, on the slope of a hill (*supinum*).

24. *liquidæ*, 'with its lucent air'.

25. *amicum*, 'because I was dear', &c.

25. *fontibus*, as Hippocrene (on Mt. Helicon), Aganippe (the same), Peireine (near Corinth).

25. *choris*, dances in which time is kept to singing.

26. See IX.

27. *devota arbor*, the *triste lignum*, which nearly killed the poet by falling on his head (*Odes* II. xiii.); alluded to elsewhere.

28. *Sicula*, as dividing Sicily from Italy.

28. *Palinurus*, the southern promontory of the Gulf of Velia. We know nothing of the incident to which Horace here refers.

30-32. He will go on shipboard (*navita*) through the stormy seas of the Euxine, on foot (*viator*) through the sandy deserts of Assyria. (Syria is probably meant.)

33. *Britannos*. There is probably an allusion to the Druid sacrifices of human victims; but the island was at this time outside the range of ordinary knowledge. The epithets applied to the Britons are *ultimi*, *remoti*, &c.

34. *Concanum*, a tribe of the Cantabri (Biscay). This habit of drinking horses' blood is not attributed to them elsewhere, though it is to the Geloni (a tribe of uncertain locality, but somewhere near the Caucasus) by Virgil.

36. *Scythicum amnem*, the *Tanais* (Don).

37. *altum*, 'noble', 'exalted'.

38. *abdidit* seems preferable to *addidit*, there being MS. authority for both (*reddidit* is clearly a correction). *Addidit* is supported by a passage in Tacitus (*Ann.* xiii. 31), "*coloniae Capua atque Nuceria additis veteranis firmatae sunt*". This, however, is taking a different point of view; something done for the benefit of the colonies. *Abdidit* has better support in the passage (*Epp.* I. I. 5), "*Veianius armis | Herculis ad postem fixis latet abditus agro*". Orelli, however, reads *addidit*, thinking that there is "*nescio quid inglorii et prope ignominiosi*" in the alternative.

40. See Appendix C.

41. *lene consilium*, 'mild counsels', such as that which was carried out in the clemency which the poet celebrates in IX. The word is treated as trisyllabic: *consīlium*, the first 'i' being lengthened by the combination of the second 'i' with the final syllable.

41. *dato* implies acceptance; otherwise the giver would feel no pleasure in it.

42. *almae*, 'kindly powers'.

43. *Titanas immanemque turmam*, 'the monstrous host of Titans'. Strictly speaking the Titans are to be distinguished from such monstrous shapes as Typhoeus with the hundred hands, and others.

44. *sustulerit*, 'swept away'.

44. *caduco*, 'down-darting', *καταβάρης κεραυνός*.

45. *terram inertem*, "*bruta tellus*" (*Odes* I. xxxiv. 9), the 'unmoving earth'.

46. *regna tristia*, 'the realms of woe', *i.e.* dwellings of the dead, as contrasted with the cities of the living. Each part of the great dominion has its appropriate epithet, and all, as Wickham says, are "such as imply some difficulty or unlikelihood in the way of his rule. He can sway the earth, however insensate it be; the sea, however strong; the sad shadow-world as well as the world of men". *temperat* governs *terram* and *mare*, *regit* the other objects.

48. *imperio unus aequo*, 'sole ruler with impartial sway', or, perhaps, 'kindly'.

49. It has been pointed out that what follows is inconsistent with the preceding. The calm, almighty ruler of 45-8 appears to have been terrified. It is the resolution of inferior deities that keeps him on his throne. The poet wishes to magnify the might of intellect as personified in Pallas, and the mention of Pallas leads on to a picturesque description of the conflict in which the monstrous shapes of the Titans are ranged on one side, and the gracious presences of the heavenly powers on the other. But the calm imperial figure of Jupiter is obscured. It is probable that this description was suggested by the bronze relief representing the *Gigantomachia*, which was to be seen on the tympanum of the pediment in the Pantheon of M. Agrippa (completed in B.C. 27).

50. *fidens* governs *brachiis*.

50. *horrida* has something both of its literal and its metaphorical meaning, 'trusting in the bristling horror of its arms'.

51, 52. *tendentes imposuisse*. Wickham, followed by Page, sees in this perfect infinitive "a definite reference to a completed action. The object in view was not only to place Pelion on Olympus, but to leave it standing there." Possibly; still, if the present infinitive had been used, no one would have seen anything unusual or defective in the construction. It is not impossible that the perfect may be due, as it so often is in elegiac verse, to the exigencies of metre.

51. *opaco*, 'shady', 'wood-clad'.

52. *Olympo*. Horace, though not mentioning Ossa, follows Homer so far as to place Olympus at the bottom of the pile (*Odys.* xi. 314-5)—

"Ὅσσαν ἐπ' Οὐλύμπῳ μέμασαν θέμεν, αὐτὰρ ἐπ' Ὀσση
Πήλιον εἰνοσίφυλλον,

while Virgil (*Georg.* i. 281-2) alters the order—

"Ter sunt conati imponere Pelio Ossae
scilicet, atque Ossae frondosum involvere Olympum",

and has been criticised for putting the biggest mountain on the top of the smaller.

54. *statu*, 'attitude'.

55. *truncis*. Strictly speaking ablative absolute, but may be taken as an ablative of circumstance.

56. *iaculator*, translate by a participle, 'boldly hurling uprooted pines'.

57. *aegida*. The *aegis* was properly the goat-skin, and used also as here to express the shield to which the goat-skin was attached.

58. *avidus*, 'eager for battle'; so Tacitus (*Ann.* i. 51), "*avidae legiones*".

60. *i.e.* 'always prepared for battle'.

61-64. Wickham points out the contrast which this stanza makes between Apollo's grace and beauty and the monstrous shapes of the Titans.

61. *Castaliae*, a fountain on Mt. Parnassus.

61. *lavit*. This form is always used in the Odes.

62. *solutos*, 'flowing', or perhaps 'loosened' for the battle.

63. *natalem silvam*. This is probably a conventional phrase. It is doubtful whether there could ever have been any wood properly so called in Delos. If it was anywhere it must have been on Cynthus,

which is now a bare rock of about 400 or 500 feet high. Yet Virgil speaks of the "iuga Cynthi".

64. Patareus, of Patara in Lycia, where there was an oracle of Apollo, which at one time rivalled that of Delphi.

65, 66. vis, used in both places for 'strength' (commonly represented by the plural *vires*). The singular usually means 'violence', which would indeed suit the first line; but both must have the same meaning.

67. idem, *i.e.* di, 'at the same time they hate'.

69. Gyas. Some MSS. read *gigas*, some *Gyges*.

70. sententiarum, 'maxims' or 'judgments'.

70. notus, 'notorious'.

71. tentator, 'assailant', the only use of the word in classical Latin.

73. iniecta monstris suis, 'piled on her own monstrous children'.

73. dolet, 'still groans'. The present emphasizes the severity of the judgment.

74. maeret has the same force; and so has the perfect *peredit*; the suffering still lasts, for the fire has not eaten through Aetna (so as to set them free).

76. celer perhaps = *rapidus*, and so 'devouring'; "for all its haste" (Wickham).

According to Pindar and Aeschylus, Aetna was piled on Typhoeus; according to Virgil, on Enceladus; according to Callimachus, on Briareus.

78, 79. reliquit, 'nor ever has the bird', &c. additus governs nequitiae; custos may be rendered 'jailer'.

80. Pirithourn, "sedet aeternumque sedebit | infelix Theseus". He attempted in concert with Theseus to carry off Proserpine. Theseus was released by Hercules.

XVI.

Jupiter is the ruler of heaven; Augustus will prove himself to be a god on earth by adding Parthia and Britain to the empire. Thus he will wipe away the last disgrace of Rome; her soldiers content to inhabit barbarian homes. The noble example of Regulus, careless of himself so that his country should not tarnish her honour, should have taught better things.

1. Caelo is opposed to *praesens*.

1. credidimus, 'we have ever believed'.

1. *tonantem* is emphatic. The thunder is the sign of the power.
 2. *praesens*, 'here on earth', probably with the additional sense of 'favour'. Cf. "Adsis, O Tegeaeae, favens" (Verg. *Georg.* i. 18).

3. *Britannis*. Augustus appears to have had at one time an intention to conquer Britain; but it was never carried out. Cf. XIX. 29. Certain British princes, probably expelled from their country, came to Rome to seek help from Augustus, made some presents (which were deposited in the Capitol) and surrendered the island to him.

3. *adiectis Britannis*, 'when the Britons shall have been added'.

5. *coniuge barbara*. This ablative might be taken with *maritus*, or with *turpis*, but it is better to describe it as one of the 'circumstances' of *vixit*; to call it absolute seems to stretch that term somewhat. 'Lived a degraded husband with a barbarian wife.'

6-8. *hostium socerorum in armis*. Page quotes Conington's excellent rendering, "earning his foemen kinsmen's pay". Bentley suggested *arvis* for *armis*, an attractive conjecture, which has some support in the MSS.

7. *inversi*, 'corrupted'. This sense seems not to be found elsewhere. It affects *curia* ('senate-house' for 'senate') as well as *mores*.

8. *consenuit*. The disaster of Carrhae happened in 55 B.C.

9. *sub rege*. Observe how every word heightens the effect. They are content to live under the odious rule of a king, a Parthian king, and they of the best blood in Italy. The Marsi fought an equal fight with Rome in the Social War; the poet compliments his countrymen the Apulians, by coupling them with the famous Marsi.

10. *anciliorum*, for the legend see Ovid, *Fasti* iii. 345-384. The common form is *ancile*.

10. *togae*, the *toga* was the ceremonial dress. "Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togatam" (Verg. *Aen.* i. 282). Augustus was inclined to be strict in requiring its use. Suetonius relates that he gave injunctions to the aediles to make the wearing of it obligatory in the forum (*Aug.* xl. 3).

11. *aeternae*, 'undying', the fire kept alight in the temple of Vesta, the 'hearth of Rome'.

12. 'While Jupiter's shrine (in the Capitol) and the City of Rome still stand unhurt.' If these had perished, the prisoners could not have behaved more basely.

14. *condicionibus*, a dative.

15. *trahentis*, 'deducing from the precedent', *exemplo*. This sense of *traho* is not found elsewhere, but there is possibly a parallel in the use of *duco*, 'to consider'. Another reading is *trahenti* (agree-

ing with *exemplo*, which would then be governed by *dissentientis*). The precedent would draw or bring ruin.

17, 18. *si non...pubes*. This would be the *exemplum*, the Senate intervening to save the prisoners from the consequences of their own cowardice—the precedent would be established, ‘if the captive youth were not suffered to die unpitied’.

17. *periret*. The lengthening of the *-et* is to be observed; it is without parallel in Horace’s use of the Alcaic metre. Still it is preferable to the conjecture *perirent*.

Page bestows more commendation than it seems to me to deserve on Plüss’s arrangement of this passage. Plüss puts a full stop after *periret*, and makes *captiva pubes immiserabilis* an exclamation. *Regulus* is in this case the subject of *periret*, while *sit* must be understood after *pubes*. Both seem not a little harsh.

18. *signa* “has force as the first word in *Regulus*’ speech, striking again the keynote of the ode, recalling the bitterest memory of *Carthae*, the loss of the standards” (Wickham).

20–22. Page calls attention to the brilliant antitheses *militibus sine caede*, *civium retorta...libero*, warriors who surrendered without fighting, free Romans who had become Carthaginian slaves.

20. *militibus*. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* xi. 193, “*spolia occisis derepta Latinis*”.

22. *tergo*, an ablative of place.

23. *portas*. In the earlier part of his campaign *Regulus* had shut up the Carthaginians within their walls. Now the gates were open; they were secure, enjoying “*apertis otia portis*” (*Ars Poet.* 191).

23, 24. ‘Fields once ravaged by our arms cultivated again.’

25. *scilicet*, as frequently is the case, ironical.

26–30. It is a stroke of art in the poet that the ironical mood lasts for so short a time. Indignation carries the speaker away. *damnum* is scarcely ironical, as Page thinks. To speak of ransoming useless soldiers as a *lucrum* would have been irony. But the position of the word emphasizes it; it is an atrocious crime; but it is also what will trouble you more, a heavy loss. You will be spending your money in vain. This is satire rather than irony.

28. *refert*, ‘bears again, *i.e.* ‘recovers’.

28. *medicata*, ‘doctored’. So the Greek *φαρμάσσειν*.

28. *fucus*, a lichen used as a red dye.

30. *curat*, ‘cares’, ‘is willing’ = ‘can’.

30. *deterioribus*, probably the dative following *reponi*, ‘be given back’. “*Deteriores fiunt ex bonis, peiores ex malis*” (Scholiast).

31. *extricata* must be middle. ‘If (and only if, *i.e.* in no other case) the hind can extricate herself from the close net and fight’.

33. *perfidis*, opposed to *credidit*; so in *Odes* III. vii. 13, we have the two words in juxtaposition, “ut Proetum mulier perfida credulum”. The epithet is often applied to the Carthaginians without any particular justification. The reproach applies at least equally to the dealings of Rome.

34. *proteret*, ‘trample down’, ‘crush’.

34. *altero*, ‘second’, ‘renewed’.

36. *iners*: as *ars* is frequently used for ‘character’, *iners* (in-ars) often means ‘idle’, ‘spiritless’.

37. *hic*. The speaker points, as it were, to one of the offending soldiers.

37. *unde ... inscius*, ‘not knowing whence he could win life’, *i.e.* escape from death. So Conington: “He knows not, he, how life is won”. He ought to have known that it was only to be won by valour.

38. *pacem duello miscuit*, ‘has confounded peace and war’, *i.e.* indulged thoughts of peace when nothing but war should have been in his mind. Orelli suggests that the soldier who bargains for peace usurps the functions of the state and becomes a public enemy.

38. *duellum*, the archaic word for *bellum*, probably connected with *duo*. Cf. *duo* and *bis*; so there is *duonus*, an archaic form of *bonus*. So in one of the fragments of Livius Andronicus’ translation of the *Odyssey* we have “*duona eorum portant ad naves*”.

40. *ruinis*, a causal ablative, ‘exalted by the downfall’, better than the ablative of comparison, as Marshall, following Orelli, takes it.

41. *fertur*, ‘he is said’. The narrative is resumed from line 18, the speech of Regulus being ended.

42. *capitis minor*; the legal phrase is *capite deminutus*. “*Capite deminutus est qui in hostium potestatem venit*” is the definition of the lexicographer Festus. *Caput* expresses the capacity of legal rights enjoyed by a Roman, these being classed under three heads—the freedom which he enjoyed as born in a free condition, his rights as a citizen, his rights as the member of a *familia*. *Capital* punishment in English always means death; but *poena capitalis* in Roman law was applied to punishment that affected the *caput* or legal *status* of the condemned, as exile.

42. *capitis*, a genitive of respect; cf. *captus animi*, *integer vitae*.

44. *torvus*, ‘frowning’.

44. *voltum*, ‘his regard’, the expression of his face.

45, 46. *donec*, until he confirmed; *firmaret* is really equivalent, as often in the diction of poetry, to *firmasset*.

45. *consilio* is opposed by Orelli to *sententia*. This latter,

Regulus had no right to give. Not being a member of the senate, as having suffered *capitis deminutio*, he could not give his *sententia* as a senator in his place. This is possibly a little too subtle.

46. *auctor*, an 'adviser', 'supporter'; then also 'originator'.

46. *nunquam alias dato*, 'never given on any other occasion', not by Regulus only, but by any man.

48. *egregius exsul*, an *oxymoron*, a seeming contradiction, but full of the highest meaning. As an exile he was degraded; yet his courage gave him the highest distinction.

49, 50. The story of the torture inflicted upon Regulus after his return to Carthage seems to be of doubtful authority. Polybius, who lived nearest to the time, makes no mention of it. Cicero, however, tells it at length. Dio Cassius gives it as a tradition. A story is also told of Marcia, wife of Regulus, as having caused Carthaginian prisoners to be ill-treated in revenge for the cruelties practised on her husband.

52. *reditus*, the plural is used to avoid the assonance as well as the ambiguity that would result from using the singular.

53. *quam si*, to be taken with *non aliter*.

54. *diiudicata lite*, it is better to take this as meaning decided by the courts, not as decided by himself as arbitrator. The Roman noble acted as *patronus* or advocate for his clients. A survival of this practice still exists in our own conventional rule that an advocate cannot recover his fees. He is supposed to give his services gratuitously as the Roman noble did.

55. *Venafrum*, famous for its olive-yards, was a town of Northern Campania.

56. *Lacedaemonium Tarentum*, founded by the Spartan Phalanthus. "*Regnata quondam rura Laconi.*" Observe the studiously quiet tone of this ending of a poem full of high-wrought rhetoric.

XVII.

The poet complains of the indifference and impiety of the age. To this it owes its reverses and disasters. Its morality is sapped; the rising generation is infected with vice, and degenerates from the purity and self-control of earlier times.

Augustus was a restorer of temples, and he endeavoured to reform the public morals by legislation.

1. *immeritus*, cf. XII. 4. The *virgines puerique*, to whom Horace is addressing himself, could not be held responsible for the sins which were bringing ruin on the State; nevertheless they would suffer for them unless they could avert the divine wrath.

2. *templa*, the *templa* were, strictly speaking, the sacred enclosures (τέμενος), though the word is used here generally of the buildings, which are more particularly described by *aedes*.

2. *refeceris*, so Verg. *Aen.* viii. 714-6—

“Caesar...sacrabat
maxima ter centum totam delubra per urbem”,

and Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 63—

“Templorum positor, templorum sancte repostor”.

5. *te geris*, ‘bear’ or ‘behave yourself’.

6. *hinc*. Supply *est*. So Livy, xlv. 39, “maiores vestri omnia magnarum rerum et principia exorsi ab Dis sunt, et finem statuerunt.

6. *principium*, scanned as *consilium* in XV. 41.

7. *neglecti*. Cf. XIII. 30.

9. *Monaeses*. It is not known who this was, the only person of the name known to history being a Parthian noble who took refuge with Antony from the tyranny of Phraates IV., and had something to do with the invasion of Parthia which took place in B.C. 36. He cannot be meant; the only alternative is to suppose that the general of King Orodes I. (Arsaces XIV.), who defeated Crassus at Carrhae, bore this name, and that Surenas, the name by which he is commonly known, was an official title, as it certainly was in after time.

9. *Pacori*. Pacorus was the son of Orodes I. He was nominally in command at the battle of Antigoneia (B.C. 50), where the Parthians were defeated, and commanded jointly with Labienus (B.C. 40) when Antony's lieutenant, Decidius Saxa, was defeated and slain. He himself met the same fate in B.C. 38 (June 9th—the fifteenth anniversary of Carrhae), in Cyrrhестice. The defeat of B.C. 40 is intended here.

10. *non auspicatos*. Velleius Paterculus (ii. 46) says of Crassus: “proficiscentem in Syriam diris cum omnibus tribuni plebis frustra retinere conati sunt”. Cicero refers to the story in *De Divin.* i. 6, and again in ii. 40. In the first, Q. Cicero is arguing for the truth of omens; in the second, Cicero himself takes the other side, and tells, evidently in ridicule, the story that the cry of a seller of figs from Caunus (in Caria), “Cauneas”, heard while the army was embarking, was interpreted to mean—“cave ne eas” (observe the identical pronunciation of the ‘u’ and ‘v’). The tribune was ‘noted’ by the Censor. Any undertaking of Antony would afterwards be called *non auspicatus*.

12. *renidet*, ‘beams with joy’=*gaudet*, and so followed by an infinitive. “It literally means ‘beams back’ or ‘beams again’, and Horace almost seems to have selected a word which would portray the grin of satisfaction with which the face of a savage

positively 'beams again' when tricking himself out in a new piece of finery" (Page). But were the Parthians savages in this sense?

13. *paene*, take with *delevit*.

13. *occupatam*, 'engrossed'.

14. *Dacus*, the name is of somewhat indefinite application. As used here it may be identified with the tribes inhabiting the region now known as Servia and Bulgaria. Augustus drove them, but at a date later than this, north of the Danube. Dacian bowmen served in Antony's army. They had, it is said, offered their services to Augustus. Cf. Verg. *Georg.* ii. 497, "aut coniurato descendens Dacus ab Histro".

14. *Aethiops* = Egyptian (in reference to Actium).

15. *classe*, cf. IV. 1.

17-32. Horace accounts for and so defends the legislation by which Augustus was seeking to reform the public morals.

33. *his*, 'such as these', a generation corrupted by immorality.

34. *aequor*, in reference to the great naval victories won in the first Punic war. There were Mylae (260 B.C.), Ecnomus (256), and the Aegates (242). No naval battle of importance took place in the second Punic war.

35. *ingentem* = μέγας, Magnus, the distinguishing title of Antiochus III., King of Syria (reigned 223-187 B.C.).

36. *dirum*, cf. XXI. 42.

37. *rusticorum militum*, 'soldiers themselves country-born'--the yeomen who had furnished the legions in the palmy days of Rome.

38. *Sabellis*, the Sabine race had the reputation of simplicity and frugality of life.

39-41. Maclean quotes from Swinburne's *Two Sicilies*. "The young Calabrian peasant, after hoeing the ground all day with no better fare than bread and water, seasoned with a clove of garlic, an onion, or a few dried olives, does not presume to present himself before his mother without a faggot of hibiscus or other wood which he throws down on the threshold ere he offers to pass the door.

40. *ad arbitrium*, more than 'at the bidding', till "she called 'enough'" (Wickham), 'at the discretion'.

42. *mutaret umbras*, *i.e.* made the shadows fall a different way. It has been interpreted of noonday, and indeed the sun *mutat umbras* all day long; but it is clear that the general reference is to evening.

42. *iuga demeret*. Homer (*Il.* xvi. 779) uses the term βουλῶν, and Hesiod (*O. et D.* 584) has Ἡὼς ἐπὶ ζυγὰ βοῶνι τλῆησι.

44. *agens abeunte*, the opposition is emphatic.

45. *damnosa*. Orelli quotes Ovid, *Met.* xv. 234-5—
 “tempus edax rerum tuque invidiosa vetustas
 quid non destruitis?”

XVIII.

Whatever your wealth and luxury, death awaits you, as it awaits all. And even while you live, your existence is less to be desired than the simplicity and innocence of the savage life. He who would be called the father of his country must restrain the license of the time, the effeminate training of our youth, the greed of gain that is never satisfied.

This is practically a repetition of the sentiments of the seven odes marked XI.-XVII.

1. *intactis*, ‘unrified’. Cf. *Odes* I. xxi. “*Icci beatis nunc Aram invades | gazis?*”

3. *caementis*, cf. XII. 33-38.

4. The two seas, *Apulicum*, upper (on the East Coast), and *Tyrrhenum*, the lower (on the West). These names make excellent sense, more than can be said of any other reading. Whatever difficulty there may be in the scanning of *Apulicum* has been anticipated in XV. 10. *Terrenum* has been suggested for *Tyrrhenum* and *publicum* for *Apulicum*. “All the land and the sea, common heritage.”

5. *figit*, the *it* is lengthened by the stress put upon it as the first syllable of the foot.

6. *summis verticibus*, ‘the topmost roof’ of the building, the foundations of which are the *caementa*, lowered by the rich man’s contractors into the sea. When it is finished, Doom drives the nails of adamant which are a part of her armoury (cf. *Odes* I. xxxv. 18, “*saeva necessitas | clavos trabales...manu | gestans aena*”) into the roof, and so asserts, it may be said, her ownership. The millionaire has built it all for her. The words have been made to refer to the nails as driven in ‘up to their heads’, and to the ‘head of the man’: neither explanation seems at all satisfactory.

7, 8. With this impending you can never free your soul from fear, nor your life from the snares of death.

9. *campestres*, ‘of the steppes’.

10. *plaustra*, so Aesch. *P. V.* 709-10—

Σκύθας δ' ἀφίξει νομάδας οἱ πλεκτὰς στέγας
 πεδάρσιοι ναλοῦσ' ἐπ' εὐκύκλοις ὄχοις.

10. *rite*, ‘after their custom’.

11. *rigidi* gives a general idea of hardness; the old explanation of ‘frozen’ may be correct.

12. *immetata iugera*, an emphatic contrast. We Romans know of land only in measured plots—so many *iugera*; they have no boundaries.

12. *liberas*, 'free' to all the tribe. The word qualifies both *fruges* and *Cererem*.

14-16. Cf. Caesar *de B. G.* iv. 1, "The Suevi furnish a thousand fighting men from each of their hundred cantons; the others cultivate the ground. In the following year the cultivators fight and the warriors cultivate. No land is private property or marked off; nor is it permitted to stay for more than a year in one place "*incolendi causa*". So Tacitus, *Germ.* xxvi. "*agri pro numero cultorum ab universis in vices occupantur*".

18. *temperat*, 'spares' 'harms not', constructed as here with a dative, or with *ab* and an ablative.

18. *innocens*, emphatic. 'So innocent is she'; the stepmother was a by-word for malignity; so Aesch. (*Prom.* 727) speaks of a dangerous coast as *μητρικά νεών*.

19, 20. So Plautus (*Aulul.* 3. v. 64), "*Dotatae mactant et malo ot damno viros*", and Martial (viii. 12)—

"Uxorem quare locupletem ducere nolo
quaeritis? uxori nubere nolo meae".

19, 20. *regit, fidit*, "the point is the inversion of their natural relations" (Wickham).

21. *magna* goes with *dos*.

22. *metuens*, constructed with a genitive as *cautus* sometimes is, and such words as *πεφυλαγμένος* in Greek.

23. *certo foedere*, 'so sure is the marriage bond'. So in *Odes* i. iii. 18, *irrupta copula*.

24. *peccare*, to offend, as very frequently, against chastity

24. *aut*, (*si peccant* or *peccantibus*) the wage or penalty is to die.

25. *impias*, used, as frequently, of civil strife, because it breaks up family ties.

27, 28. To have the *titulus* of 'Pater' inscribed upon his statues. The actual *titulus* would not be these words, but some adaptation of them to the particular occasion. So Cicero, writing to his brother Quintus, bids him deserve the title of "*parens Asiae*". In one extant inscription Augustus is called *parens coloniae*.

29. Cf. XX. 9, 10.

30. *postgenitis*, 'posterity'. This must be his reward for the reason that follows. He must not hope to be appreciated by his own generation.

31, 32. *invidi* is emphatic, and qualifies both clauses. Our grudging

temper makes us hate living (*incolumem*) virtue, and if we admire it when removed from our gaze, the temper still remains, we make it the ground of an odious comparison with those that are still with us.

33. Understand *prospiciunt* from line 36.

34. *reciditur*, 'is cut back', 'pruned'.

36-40. The torrid and the frigid zones were supposed to be inaccessible to man, yet the greed of the trader dared their dangers. Cf. XIV. 55 *seq.*

37. *inclusa*, 'fenced in'.

38. *latus*, 'quarter'.

39. *durataeque solo*, 'hardened with the ground', snow and soil made one impenetrable mass.

40, 41. Cf. *Odes* I. iii. 24-5, "*impiae | non tangenda rates transiliunt vada*".

40. *callidi*, Wickham compares Soph. *Antig.* 335, where it is one of the feats of *περιφραδὴς ἀνὴρ*, to traverse even the wintry sea.

42. Cf. *Odes* I. i. 18 (of the trader), "*indocilis pauperiem pati*".

44. *arduae*, transferred from *viam* to *virtutis*. Compare for the general idea Tennyson's *Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington*:

"He that ever following her commands,
On with toil of heart and knees and hands,
Through the long gorge to the far light has won
His path upward, and prevailed".

45-50. Let us get rid of the cause of our guilt, whether we take it to the Capitol and offer it to the gods, or hurl it into the sea.

45. in *Capitolium*, some word similar in meaning to *mittamus* must be supplied, as *vehamus*; *mittamus* (line 50) strictly applies to its own clause only.

46. In reference to the shouting crowd that accompanies a triumphal procession.

48. *gemmas et lapides*, possibly 'engraved gems and precious stones'. Anyhow all kinds of jewellery, including pearls, are comprehended by the phrase.

49. *materiem*, 'material cause'.

49. *summi mali*, 'our chief offending' (Wickham).

51. *eradenda, rado*, 'to shave' or 'scrape'. The idea is of something cut off as close as possible.

51. *cupidinis*, masc., as always in Horace.

52. *elementa*, 'beginnings', used of the alphabet, &c.

54. *formandae*, 'to be shaped' or 'trained'.

54. *rudis*, 'untrained'.

55. *ingenuus*, 'well-born though he is'.

57. *trocho*, an iron hoop, sometimes fitted with bells, which boys (and sometimes men) used to drive with an iron hook (*clavis*). It came from the Greeks. Ovid (in *de A.A.* iii. 353) mentions it along with the javelin as one of the games of men.

58. *vetita legibus*. Three such laws are referred to in the Digest, *Titia*, *Publicia*, and *Cornelia*.

59. *patris*. You cannot expect the boy to be any better when the father is so unprincipled.

60. *consortem socium*, 'partner in business', one who has his *sors* or 'capital', in common with him.

60. *hospitem*, 'friend', bound to him by sacred ties of hospitality.

62. *properet*, 'hastens to pile up'. "Makes haste to be rich."

62. *scilicet*, 'yes indeed'.

62. *improbac*, 'insatiate'.

64. *curtae*, *proleptic*. Something is always wanting to the fortune, so that it is *curtus* ('maimed, defective').

XIX.

Fortune, the all-powerful, the deity whom high and low unite in worshipping, is besought to preserve Augustus in the great and perilous undertaking which he is about to commence.

1. O *diva*: the *Fortuna* invoked in this Ode must be taken as the *Fortuna Publica*, occupying, it may be said, something of the same place with regard to the State, as did the *genius* with regard to the individual. She is not the blind goddess, with the sinister passion for pulling down and building up, but the Fate of the Roman People. (Other forms of Fortune were worshipped with analogous functions, as *Fortuna Muliebris*.) Wickham quotes from Plutarch (*De Fortuna Romanorum*), "Even as Aphrodite, when she crossed the Eurotas, laid aside her mirror and her ornaments and her cestus, and took spear and shield, to adorn himself for Lycurgus' eyes, so, when after her sojourning with Persians and Assyrians, with Macedonians and Carthaginians, she (*τύχη*) approached the Palatine, and crossed the Tiber, she laid aside her wings, and took off her sandals, and left behind her ball, the symbol of fickleness and change".

1. *Antium*, the old capital of the Volsci, one of the chief seats (*Praeneste* was the other) of the worship of Fortune. The deity was represented by two images, which gave oracles by bending their heads. Martial (v. 1) speaks of them as the *veridicae sorores* which gave their answers

"*plana suburbani qua cubat unda freti*"

(*Antium* was only 28 miles from Rome; hence called *suburbanum*).

2. *praesens* = *potens*, with the additional notion of readiness, the construction with the infin. *tollere* follows on the word being equivalent to *potens*.

3. *mortale corpus*, 'frail man'.

4. *funeribus* is ablative: literally to 'change the proud triumph by bringing in the element of mortality', or more truly to change the pomp of the triumph into the pomp of the funeral. So in *A. P.* 225, "*vertere seria ludo*".

6. *ruris colonus*, to be taken together, better than to supply *dominam* before *ruris*, as if it were, "*te pauper colonus ambit (dominam) ruris*".

7. *Bithyna*, as built of wood from the pine forests of Bithynia or Pontus.

7. *laccessit*, 'challenges', 'dares'. The word is suggested by the idea that man audaciously neglects the boundaries placed by nature. (Cf. XVIII. 40-1.)

8. *Carpathium*, *Carpathus* was an island between Rhodes and Crete.

9. *Dacus*. Cf. XVII. 14.

9. *profugi*, 'flying before the foe' (as they did before Darius) and so luring him to his destruction. They discharged their arrows while retreating, hence Lucan (vi. 30) speaks of them as *refugi*. Wickham suggests an antithesis between this word and *asper* 'fierce', and so standing his ground.

11. Cf. XIII. 7. Page quotes the question of Sisera's mother from Judges v. 28.

12. *purpurei*. Cf. Verg. (*Georg.* ii. 495), "*Illum non populi fasces, non purpura regum | flexit*".

13. *iniurioso*, 'ruthless' or 'insulting'.

14. *stantem columnam*, the 'standing pillar' as an emblem of stability, as a broken pillar is a common emblem on tombs. Lewis & Short strangely interpret of Augustus, a quite impossible notion, in view of the context. The *tyrannus* is afraid of reverse in war, or popular insurrection.

15. *cessantes*, 'loiterers' or 'irresolutes'.

15. *ad arma*, the repetition of the words suggests the repeated cry, "To arms!" So the French, "*Aux armes, citoyens!*" Cf. Ovid (*Met.* xii. 244), "*Certatimque omnes uno ore Arma, arma loquuntur*".

17. Cf. XVIII. 7.

17. *anteit*, a dissyllable.

"Some imagine that Horace was thinking of some actually exist-

ing picture or representation, and indeed an ancient Etruscan mirror from Perugia exists representing Athopa (Atropos or Destiny) in the act of fixing a nail with a hammer, symbolizing an immutably fixed decision" (Page).

18. *clavos trabales*, a 'spike', a nail of the largest size, such as might be used for fixing a beam.

18. *cuneos*, another form of fastening. It may be, however, that as the *clavus* was used to fasten firmly, so the *cuneus* was used to split.

19. *severus*, cf. the epithet *αῦθαδής*, which is applied by Aeschylus to the wedge used in the imprisonment of Prometheus, 'unyielding'.

20. *uncus*, 'cramp'. The molten lead was used to attach this firmly to the stone which it was intended to keep in its place.

21, 22. *albo panno*. Servius tells us that those who made offerings to *Fides* wrapped the hand in a white cloth.

21. *rara*, 'seldom found'.

22. *comitem abnegat*, 'refuses her companionship' (Page).

23, 24. Wickham points out the confusion in the allegory. "Hope and loyal friends are consolations of adversity, so that Horace must mean, not that they go with Fortune when she deserts a man, but that they cling to him, to his changed estate as to his unchanged. Yet if this is the case, in what sense is she said to be *inimica*?"

23, 24. *mutata veste*, a common phrase for 'to put on mourning'. So Cicero (*Post Red.* iii. 8), "pro me praesente senatores et viginti milia hominum vestem mutaverunt".

26, 27. The Greek proverb, *ξῆν χύτρα, ξῆν φίλια*, has been well compared by Wickham. Cf. Shakespeare's *Timon*.

28. *ferre*, by a stretch of the infinitive construction, is made to follow *dolosi*, 'too treacherous to bear'. It might follow the simple *fugiunt* (as *Odes* I. iii. 19, "quid sit futurum cras fuge quaerere"); *fugiunt ferre* might be said, but hardly *diffugiunt ferre*.

28. *ferre iugum pariter* = *τὸν ζυγῶν*.

29. *ultimos*. So Verg. (*Eclog.* i. 67), "et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos". Cf. XV. 33.

30, 31. *recens examen*, 'new levy'. *Examen* commonly means 'a swarm', as from *ex-ago*, what is led or driven out; also an examination, when a thing *ex-agitur*, is thoroughly discussed.

32. *Oceano rubro*, the Red Sea and Persian Gulf.

34. *fratrum*. The very thought of brothers reminds us of civil strife. There is no need to add any explanatory phrase.

34, 35. *dura aetas*, a hard-hearted generation.

35. *nefasti*=*nefandi* or *nefarii*. The word is commonly used of unlawful days in the calendar.

36. *unde*, 'from what?'

37, 38. *mētū pēpercit*, a singular license; the iambic is rare in the first foot of the Alcaic, but here is found in two successive lines.

38-40. 'Would that thou wouldst forge again on a hard anvil against the Scythian and the Arab our now blunted swords!'

XX.

The poet sings first of the gods, of Jupiter, chief of all and incomparably great, of Pallas next in place, then of demi-gods, then of the old heroes of Rome, and after them of the young hope of the state, Marcellus. Finally he comes back to the praises of Jupiter and of Caesar, his vicegerent on earth.

1. The beginning is adapted from Pindar (*Olymp.* 2)—

ἀναξιφόρμιγγες ὕμνοι
τίνα θεόν, τίν' ἥρωα, τίνα δ' ἄνδρα κελαδήσομεν;

1, 2. *acri tibia*, cf. XVIII. 1.

2. *sumis celebrare*, one of Horace's extensions of the use of the infinitive. If this mood is regarded as a substantive, we may say that it is the object of *sumis*, while in its verbal character it governs *virum*, &c., 'the celebrating of what man, &c., dost thou take to thyself?' Page regards *sumis* as an extension of the idea of wishing.

4. *imago*, 'echo', *i.e.* of *vocis*, understood.

5, 6. *Helicon* (in Boeotia), the abode of the Muses, as was *Pindus* (in Thessaly), while *Haemus* (in Thrace) was identified with *Orpheus*.

7. *temere*, in wild haste.

9. *materna*, because he was the son of *Calliope*.

11, 12. *blandum ducere*. There is an idea of power in the word *blandus*, which may account for the infinitive that follows it.

11. *auritas*. As an animal when miraculously endowed with speech is said to become *vocalis*, as *Tibullus* (II. v. 78) has "*vocales praemonuisse boves*", so a tree when similarly endowed with hearing may be called *aurita*.

13. *parentis*, the "*sator hominumque deumque*". The various reading *parentum* is hardly worth discussing.

14. Cf. *Verg. (Aen.* i. 230), "*O qui res hominumque deumque | aeternis regis imperiis*".

16. *horis*, 'seasons', as the Greek *ῥοαί*.

17. Possibly an allusion to the myth which appears in the *Prometheus*, that Zeus was to be dispossessed by a son greater than himself.

17. unde, 'from whom'; so Verg. (*Aen.* i. 6), of Aeneas, "genus unde Latinum".

18, 19. secundum, proximos. *Secundus*, 'that which follows' (*sequor*), i.e. follows hard upon, near enough to come into competition; *proximus*, absolutely 'nearest', yet possibly remote. "Longo proximus intervallo" is Virgil's description of the runner who comes next to the first, but a long way behind. Wickham quotes Cicero (*Brutus*, xlvii.), "nec enim in quadrigis eum secundum numeraverim aut tertium qui vix e carceribus exierit cum palmam iam primus acceperit".

21. proeliis audax. The words are better applied to Liber than to Pallas. The sense is equally good in both cases, for Pallas is the warrior goddess, bearer of the aegis (xviii. 56-7), while of Liber it is said, "pacis eras mediusque belli"; but the metrical effect is best consulted by putting a period at honores.

22. Virgo, Diana the huntress, *θηροκτόνος*.

24. Phoebe, *κλυτότοξος*.

26. Alcidem, Hercules, so called as the grandson of Alcaeus (son of Perseus and father of Amphitryo). Cf. *Aeacides*, applied to Achilles, grandson of Aeacus. The name is commonly used in Latin for Hercules on account of metrical reasons.

26, 27. "Κάστορά θ' ἱππόδαμον καὶ πῦξ ἀγαθὸν Πολυδεύκεα." (*Il.* iii. 237).

26, 27. superare nobilem, 'famed for excelling', the infinitive being, as it were, a verbal ablative.

27. alba. Probably with an active signification, as *Odes* i. vii. 15, "albus ut obscuro deteiget nubila caelo | saepe Notus", so "clari Aquilones", the north winds that clear the sky.

28. refulsit, 'shone again', cf. *renidet*, XVII. 12; the *re* emphasizes.

29. agitatus humor, 'wind-driven spray'. (Wickham.)

31. ponto, ablative of place.

33. quietum. "Duo deinceps reges, alius alia via, ille bello, hic pace, civitatem auxerunt". (*Liv.* i. 21.)

34, 35. superbos Tarquini fasces. Tarquinius is mentioned, not for his own sake, as one of the worthies of Rome, but as associated with the glorious deeds of Brutus. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* vi. 817—

"vis et Tarquinius reges animamque superbam
ultoris Bruti fascesque videre receptos?"

The phrase is equivalent to 'fasces Tarquinii superbi', and is thus an instance of hypallage.

35, 36. The suicide of Cato after the battle of Thapsus (B.C. 46). Such a reference proves both the strength of the imperial *régime* and the independence of the poet's spirit. A weak government could not have permitted it, and a mere flatterer never thought of making it.

37. Scauros. M. Aemilius Scaurus, Consul 115 and 107 B.C., Censor 109 (when he constructed the Via Aemilia). His name seems to have stood conventionally for a great Roman, cf. Juven. xi. 90—

“Cum tremerent autem Fabios durumque Catonem
et Scauros et Fabricios”,

though he was of indifferent character. No other Scaurus attained celebrity.

38. Aemilius Paullus refused to escape after the defeat of Cannae (B.C. 216). “Memet in hac strage militum meorum patere expirare” were his last words to Cn. Lentulus, who would have given him his horse. (Liv. xxii. 49.)

39. insigni, perhaps opposed to *humilis*, i.e. the trivial verse which Horace affects to consider his peculiar rôle; perhaps, as Page has it, ‘giving renown’. *gratus* might then mean ‘grateful’; as a Roman, the poet pays these heroes’ services with the meed of fame that verse bestows.

40. Fabricium, Consul 282 and 278 B.C., distinguished for his conduct in the war with Pyrrhus. His honourable scorn of the traitor and his contentment in poverty were stock stories in the Roman annals.

41. Curius Dentatus, Consul 275 B.C., when the battle of Beneventum was won. He was one of the bearded heroes of Roman antiquity. Shaving became fashionable with the younger Scipio. Cato (the Elder), as a representative of the conservative party, was *intonsus*.

43, 44. *apto cum lare*, ‘with an appropriate homestead’.

45. *occulto*. The idea of *occulto* properly belongs to *crescit*, though belonging also to *aevo*. So Lucr. (ii. 315), “*occulto decrescit vomer in arvis*”.

46. Marcelli, see Introduction, p. 26. The first Marcellus captured Syracuse B.C. 212, cf. Verg. *Aen.* vi. 860–886.

47. *Iulium sidus*. This and *Caesaris astrum* were terms applied to the great comet which appeared about the time of Caesar's death, and so was supposed to signify his reception into heaven. So Verg. *Ecl.* ix. 47—

“Ecce Dionaei processit Caesaris astrum”.

Here there is a reference to this, as well as to the more general idea of the star that rules the fortunes of a house. Marcellus derives splendour from the Julian star.

51, 52. Cf. Ovid, *Met.* xv. 858-60—

“Iuppiter arces
temperat aethereas, et mundi regna triformis;
terra sub Augusto; pater est et rector uterque”.

51. *secundo*, cf. the note on lines 18-19. It is impossible to acquit the poet of gross flattery here. He applies to Augustus the epithet which he has refused to Pallas. Probably he had a vague belief in a Supreme Being and a very real admiration for Augustus; while the minor figures of gods and goddesses were merely ornamental. Still even from the merely literary point of view the epithet is a mistake.

54. Cf. XVIII. 9-16.

54. *egerit*, ‘driven’ or ‘led before him’.

54. *iusto triumpho*, ‘well-earned triumph’. “*Agere triumphum*” is used for ‘to celebrate a triumph’, but *ducere* of the prisoners, &c., who formed part of the procession. If we could take *triumphus* as = *victoria* (a very rare usage), the difficulty (the use of *egerit* instead of *duxerit*) would disappear, and *domitos* would belong strictly to *triumpho*, as its place seems to indicate. ‘He shall have driven before him the Parthi, vanquished in a complete victory.’ *Iusta* is applied to *victoria* in this sense as to *proelium*. So Cicero (*Epp. ad Diversos*, ii. 10), “*victoria iusta imperator appellatus*”.

55. *subiectos*, ‘bordering’, perhaps with the idea of being directly beneath the sun.

56. *Seras*, used vaguely for the extreme East.

57. *te minor*, emphatic, ‘ever subordinate to thee’.

57. *aequus* combines the idea of equity and protection.

59. *parum castis*, ‘polluted’.

XXI.

An Ode in praise of Drusus, younger son of Livia, and so stepson of Augustus, for his victories over the Raeti. The poet introduces a compliment to Augustus, and then digresses to celebrate the achievements of an ancestral hero, who had won the great battle of Metaurus.

1-18. The subject of this long sentence is *Raeti*, in line 17, the verb *videre*, the object *Drusum*, in line 18. The Raeti saw Drusus, such by birth and breeding as is the young eagle (whose growth is described in lines 1-12), and with such feelings as the fawn of a roe-deer sees a young lion.

1. *Qualem*, governed (1) by *propulit*, which follows the subjects *iuventas* and *vigor*; (2) by *docuere* following *venti*; (3) by *demisit* following *impetus*; and (4) by *egit* following *amor*. (1) It leaves its nest, (2) it learns to fly, (3) it attacks the sheep-folds, (4) it challenges snakes.

An eagle grasping a thunderbolt is especially frequent on the coins of the Ptolemies.

2. *regnum*. Pindar (*Olymp.* xiii. 21) speaks of the eagle as *οἰωνῶν βασιλεύς*.

2. *vagas*, *ἡερόφοιτος*, given as the equivalent of *vagus*, does not appear as an epithet of birds. If there is the feeling of 'truant' in the word, as Wickham suggests, we might quote *κουφόνοος* used by Sophocles of birds.

3, 4. So Verg. *Aen.* v. 255—

"quem praepes ab Ida
sublimem rapuit pedibus Iovis armiger uncis".

4. in, 'in the case of'.

5. *olim*, 'long ago'.

5. 'Youth and the vigour of his sires.'

6. *propulit* is the reading justly preferred to that which has the best MSS. authority, *protulit*.

6. *inscium*, 'yet unconscious'. The early efforts of the bird are a matter of instinct only.

7. *verni*: the elder Scaliger (Julius Caesar, who must be distinguished from his son Joseph, a far superior critic) objected that young eagles do not fly before August, and proposed *vernīs*. As Page remarks, "even by thus making the line intolerable he only gets to the beginning of summer". The criticism is preposterously absurd. Horace knew and cared nothing about the habits of young eagles.

9. *venti paventem*, an emphatic collocation; the winds make him shudder, yet they help him to fly.

9. *mox*, 'next'.

10. *impetus*, always used for impulse from within, while *impulsus* means motive force from without.

11. *nunc*, to-day, the last stage in its growth.

11. *reluctantes*. The word pictures the snake struggling to get so far back as to be able to strike. So Verg. *Aen.* ii. 751—

"saucius at serpens sinuosa volumina versat,
arrectisque horret squamis et sibilat ore
arduus insurgens";

and Cicero in the *Marius*:—

"anguem
semianimum et varia graviter cervice micantem".

3-16. 'Or such as the newly-weaned lion, whom', &c.

13. *caprea*, 'roe-deer', distinguished from *capra*, 'she-goat'.

14, 15. Page partly approves, but does not adopt Nauck's method of placing a comma at *ubere*; the young roe-deer has just left its

mother to feed on the pastures, and meets the young lion, also newly weaned, and about to make her his prey. But we do not care to know about the colour of the fawn's mother (if the reddish-brown of the roe-deer could be given by *fulvus*), while the descriptive epithet applied to the lioness adds to the picture of the cub. It is better to put up with the awkwardness of taking *lacte depulsum* as = 'weaned'.

16. *peritura vidit*, 'sees, and perishes as soon as it sees'; *vidit* is the aorist of use, the same tense as that often found in the similes of Greek poetry; *videre* in the next line is the ordinary narrative tense.

17, 18. *Raetis Vindelici*. All MSS. read *Raeti Vindelici*. "The expression is intolerable", Page, who reads *Raetis* agreeing with *Alpibus*, after Orelli. It is certainly very prosaic, whichever word we take as the adjective. It is better to make the slight change to *Raetis*.

"Vindelicia embraced the north-eastern parts of Switzerland, the south-eastern part of Baden, the southern part of Wirtemberg and Bavaria, and the northern part of Tyrol." Raetia adjoined these regions on the south, and was itself bounded on the south by the Italian Alps.

18-22. These very prosaic four lines have been rejected by many critics, and it is remarkable that they may be ejected without any injury to sense or metre, and with distinct benefit to the poetry of the ode. "The digression is intended to elevate Drusus' victory by suggesting an immemorial and legendary antiquity for his enemies" (Wickham).

18. *quibus*, 'dativus commodi' = *quorum*.

20. *Amazonia*; so Ovid (*Her.* iv. 117), "*securigerae puellae*".

21. *obarmet*; not found elsewhere in classical Latin; a slight argument against the genuineness of the verses.

22. *sed*, 'however'. 'Notwithstanding the fame and warlike habits of the race and their previous career of conquest' (*diu lateque victrices*).

24. *iuvenis*, *i.e.* Drusus, who was 23 years of age.

24. *revictae*, 'conquered in turn', or, perhaps, 'routed'. Cf. XVII. 12, and XX. 28.

25. *sensere*, 'felt to their cost'.

25, 26. *rite*, *nutrita*. *Rite* must be supplied in second clause, and *nutrita* in first. 'What an intellect, what a heart duly nurtured,' &c. *mens* = intellectual, *indoles*, emotional part of man, 'head' and 'heart'. The words *rite* and *faustis* imply the favour of heaven, while *penetralibus* is almost equivalent to a 'shrine'. "*Verba tria sunt religiosa*" (Orelli).

27, 28. Connect *paternus* with *in pueros Nerones*. 'What the heart of Augustus with a father's feelings for the young Neros (could do)'. So *Odes* II. ii. 5, "*notus in fratres animi paterni*".

29-36. The poet goes on to insist on the two necessary qualifications of greatness, good blood, and good education. There must be hereditary qualities, and these must be trained.

29. So Eurip. *Frag. (Alcmena)*:—

“ὥς ἀληθὲς ἦν ἄρα
ἐσθλῶν ἀπ’ ἀνδρῶν ἐσθλὰ γίγνεσθαι τέκνα.”

29. *creantur*=*nascuntur*.

29. *fortibus et bonis*. Suetonius says that ‘Nero’ is a Sabine word signifying ‘fortis ac strenuus’.

33. After exalting the doctrine of ‘heredity’, Horace goes on to give due credit to training. ‘But it is teaching that brings out the inborn power.’

34. *recti cultus*, ‘right discipline’. It is not easy to say why the plural, except it be for euphony.

35. *utcumque*, ‘whenever’.

35. *mores*, ‘conduct’ *i.e.* the habit of virtue.

36. *bene nata*, ‘what is noble by nature’.

37. *Neronibus*. The family was an offshoot of the Claudii, having for its ancestor the fourth son of App. Claudius Caecus (Censor 312 B.C.). C. Claudius Nero, after various services in the Second Punic War, was Consul in 207, M. Livius Salinator being his colleague. He was acting against Hannibal in Southern Italy when he heard of the approach of Hasdrubal, who was bringing up a fresh army to reinforce his brother. Nero at once marched north to join Livius, who was stationed in Umbria. The combined armies defeated Hasdrubal at the river Metaurus. It is doubtful whether this victory can be said to have “saved Rome”. This had been done by the capture of Capua and Tarentum, it might be almost said, by the first defeat inflicted on Hannibal. What the victory really did was to practically finish the war.

38. *Metaurum*, agreeing with *flumen*; it was the Metaurus.

39. *pulcher*, &c., ‘shining fair when the darkness was chased from Latium’.

41. *adorea*=*victoria*, “probably” (according to Key) “a cake of spelt given in token of victory”. So Plautus (*Amphit.* I. i. 78), “qui praeda agroque adorea adfecit populares”.

41, 42. *primus ut*, ‘first after the day that’.

42. *dirus*, a stock epithet of Hannibal.

43. *taedas*, ‘pine trees’, the *pitch-pine* tree. Orelli speaks of a conflagration of pine woods having taken place in the Tyrol in 1797 (forty years before the publication of his Horace). A similar disaster has happened in the pine woods of Hampshire.

44. *Siculas*; possibly a reference to the undated experience in the poet's own life when he was shipwrecked near Italy; cf. XV. 28.

45. *secundis*, primarily of a wind that blows due aft, *i.e.* follows, and so is as favourable as possible, then signifying 'prosperous', 'successful'.

47. *tumultu*, a word specially used of an inroad of Gauls into Italy.

48. *rectos*, 'set upright'. The statement explains and justifies the epithet *impio*.

49. So Livy (xxvii. 57) reports Hannibal to have said, after the head of Hasdrubal had been thrown into his camp: "*agnoscere se fortunam Karthaginis*".

50. *luporum*, "clearly in reference to the legendary account of the naming of Romulus and Remus" (Page).

51. *ultra*, 'actually'. It is connected with *ultra*, 'beyond', and is applied to an action or feeling that goes beyond what might reasonably be expected. Stags might escape from wolves, but that they should actually attack them is strange.

51. *opimus*, 'a rare triumph' or 'success'; cf. the phrase *spolia opima*.

53. 'Boldly emerging from the ashes of Troy.'

54. *iactata* might apply to *sacra*, but is better taken with *gens*.

54. *sacra*. "*Ilium in Italiam portans victosque Penates*" (Verg. *Aen.* i. 68).

56. *pertulit*, 'carried safe'.

57. *tonsa*, 'lopped'.

58. 'With rich growth of dark foliage.'

60. *ducit* belongs to *gens* (line 53).

60. *opes animumque*, resources from without and from within.

61. *Hydra*, the monster slain in the marshes of Argolis.

61. *firmior*, "the adjective is more appropriate to the resolution of the Roman people and the firm front of their legions than to the Hydra" (Wickham).

62. *vinci dolentem*, 'vexed to be foiled'.

62. *crevit*, because for every head cut off two fresh ones grew.

63. *submisere*, 'produced'; so Lucret. (i. 7), "*tellus submittit flores*".

64. *Echioniae*, from Echion, one of the dragon-race (*Sparti*) son-in-law of Cadmus and father of Pentheus.

65. *merses*, 'you may plunge it', 'plunge', *merso*, the frequentative form of *mergo*.

65. *evenit*, Orelli reads *exiet*, a form which he finds in Ter-tullian, and parallels with *redies* from Apuleius. He calls it *archa-ismus*. But the tendency of language is not this way; the long forms are shortened in the fourth conjugation; especially, the old future *ibo* has almost disappeared. The object of the conjecture is to make the phrase answer to *proruet* in the next line.

66. *integrum*, 'unconquered'.

68. *coniugibus*, 'wives', whether of Romans or Carthaginians is not clear, preferably the former.

69. *iam*, 'now', as things are now.

69, 70. *nuntios superbos*, as Mago, who carried three *modii* of gold rings taken from the slain at Cannae, or, as Livy prefers to believe, one *modius*. If this more moderate estimate is accepted we get a very different amount from the "three bushels" of Wickham and Page. Three bushels=thirty gallons, whereas one *modius*=15.36 pints, or not quite two gallons. Sixteen pints of gold, if we take the gold as weighing fifteen times as much as so many pints of water—the specific gravity is 19.32, but the rings would not lie quite close—=240 lbs. (avoirdupois)=1,680,000 grains. With 500 grains of gold to each ring, this would give 3336 as the number of knights and senators slain. But as a ring of 500 grains would be very cumbersome, as heavy as four sovereigns, even the single *modius* seems too much.

70. *occidit*. Page quotes "Fallen, fallen, fallen, fallen, Fallen from his high estate". (Dryden's *Alexander's Feast*).

73-76. Wickham thinks that this stanza belongs to the poet; Page, that it belongs to the prophecy of Hannibal; Orelli holds the same opinion. Marshall says: "Hannibal's speech should surely end with the pathetic lament of the last stanza. It is too much to compel him in the same breath to predict the greatness of his enemy's descendants." I am inclined to this view.

75. *curae sagaces*, Jupiter contributes the help of his favour; his vicergerent on earth the wisdom of his counsels.

76. *expediunt*, 'guide safely'.

76. *acuta*, 'the sharp crises'.

XXII.

This ode closely resembles XXI. The poet celebrates again the achievements of Drusus, adding to them this time the praises of the elder brother, Tiberius. He passes on from these themes to the familiar subject, with which, indeed, he had begun, the greatness of Augustus.

1. *patrum Quiritium*, equivalent to the customary formula "Senatus Populusque Romanus (S.P.Q.R.)".

2. *honorum*, 'dignities'. The power of Augustus consisted in the possession of constitutional offices, heaped together and prolonged in an unconstitutional manner.

2. *plenis muneribus*, 'with adequate bestowal'.

4. *titulos*, the *titulus* was the inscription on the pedestal of a statue.

4. *fastos*, public records, as e.g. the *Fasti Capitolini*, in which the names of the consuls from 510 B.C. down to 490 A.D. are recorded.

5. *aeternum*, 'immortalize,' with *in aevum*, 'for all time'. Orelli quotes the legend on a coin, "*Aeternitati Augusti*".

6. *principum*, cf. XII. 50: 'greatest of all possible principes', not 'greatest of kings', a meaning which *principes* could not bear. The clause *o qua sol; . . . oras* seems, however, to include foreign *principes* in the comparison.

7. *quem*, a Greek construction; Wickham quotes Soph. *O. T.* 15, ὅρᾱς μὲν ἡμᾶς ἡλικοὶ προσήμεθα. 'About whom the V. have learnt', &c.

8. *Vindelici*, see XXI. 18.

9. *milite tuo*: the theory that all the troops of the empire were the emperor's became so strongly developed that none but he or members of his family were allowed to have the honours of a triumph; others had to be content with the *triumphalia ornamenta*.

10, 11. *Genauni*, a tribe whose name possibly survives in the *Valle di Non*, *Brenni* (otherwise *Breones*), a name which is more certainly traced in the Brenner Pass. Horace is somewhat more definite than he is in XXI. Drusus attacked the tribes from the south, winning a great battle at Tridentum (Trent), and afterwards forcing the Brenner Pass. This accomplished, Tiberius, who was with Augustus in Gaul, marched in a south-easterly direction till he reached the Lake of Constance. He transported his army over this in a flotilla of boats, and marched across the Tyrol.

10. *implacidum*, 'restless'.

13. *deiecit* applies strictly to *arces* (forts), and by a sort of zeugma to *Genaunos Brennosque*, or if we take the word as meaning 'dislodged', it applies more properly to the tribes and by zeugma to *arces*.

13. *plus vice simplici*, understand *quam*, 'with more than simple retribution'. He inflicted more than as much loss as he suffered. Cf. *Odes* i. xiii. "*suprema citius die*", sooner [than] on the last day!

15. *maior Neronum*, Tiberius, born Nov. 16, B.C. 42, whereas Drusus was born in 38.

16. *auspiciis secundis*, 'under happy auspices', i.e. of Augustus, who, as emperor, was supposed to take all the auspices, see line 9.

17. *spectandus*, according to Wickham = *θανυμαστός*, followed by *δοῖς*. Orelli takes it as "*dignus qui spectaretur tum cum*

magnis cladibus frangeret", which seems preferable. The Greek construction would be preferably *θαναστόν*.

18. *morti liberae*, a freeman's death. This looks like sympathy in Horace; really it is the extreme of indifference to anything but the Roman point of view. In the mouth of a modern, 'they died for freedom' would be a condemnation of the war; from Horace it simply means that the general and the soldiers who conquered them deserved greater credit.

20. Peerlkamp, quoted by Orelli, says: "I do not remember finding the word *prope* or *fere* in a simile in any good poet. The expression so takes away from its dignity that we are less impressed by the image. We are reminded that the thing compared is not quite, but only partly like. A prose writer, indeed, desirous of avoiding hyperbole, uses such phrases. So Livy (ii. 23), 'turba prope in contionis modum circumfusa'." Orelli, while acknowledging the general justice of this criticism, suggests that *prope* is something like the Greek *σχεδόν*, i.e. 'commonly'. Page, at the end of a humorous note, excuses Horace on the ground that he was writing a poem to order.

21. *exercet*, 'vexes', because keeping in perpetual motion.

21. *Pleiadum choro*. The Pleiades were connected from time immemorial with the weather. (The derivation *πλεῖν* 'to sail' has been suggested.) Ovid says that they set on April 2nd; as a matter of fact they rise in May and set in November.

22. *scindente*, a picturesque phrase describing the constellation shining out from time to time through a rift in the scudding clouds.

22, 23. *impiger vexare*, an Horatian use of the infinitive.

24. *per ignes*, a proverbial expression for extreme danger, as we say 'the hottest of the fight', cf. *Epp.* I. i. 43, "per saxa per ignes". Wickham suggests that the fires may be the burning villages of the Raeti.

25. *tauriformis*. So Eurip. (*Ion*, 1254), ὁ ταιυρόμορφον δμμα κηφισοῦ πατρός: Verg. (*Aen.* viii. 77), "corniger Hesperidum fluvius regnator aquarum".

25. *Aufidus*, now the Ofanto, the chief river of Apulia, cf. "longe sonantem natus ad Aufidum" (*Odes* IV. ix. 2).

26. *Dauni* (*Odes* III. xxx. 11.) "et qua pauper aquae Daunus agrestium regnavit populorum".

28. *meditatur*, there is a various reading of little authority, *minitatur*, which is certainly not so poetical as that in the text.

30. *ferrata*, 'ironclad'.

31. *primosque et extremos*, 'from van to rear'.

32. *sine clade victor*, cf. Vell. Pat. ii. 95, "Raetos Vindelicosque...maiore periculo quam damno Romani exercitus, plurimo cum eorum sanguine perdomuere".

33, 34. tuos divos, cf. lines 9, 16.

34-38. Augustus entered Alexandria, which had been evacuated by the forces of Antony in the autumn of B.C. 30. Fifteen years, therefore (three lustres) had passed when the victories of the young Neroes were won. Scaliger notes that there was the same interval between the death of Caesar and the entry into Alexandria (only to be made out, however, by including both years, 44, 30), and, indeed, interprets the passage of this coincidence.

36. *vacuam aulam*, vacated by the deaths of Antony and Cleopatra.

39, 40. *peractis imperiis*, designs already achieved. Page supposes that Horace has in his mind the phrase "*prorogare imperium*".

40. *arrogavit*, in an uncommon sense of 'added'; but cf. *Epp.* II. i. 35, "*scire velim, chartis pretium quotus arroget annus*"

42. Medus, otherwise called Persae and Parthi.

42. *profugus*. Cf. XIX. 9.

43. *praesens*. Cf. XIX. 2.

44. *dominae*. Cf. *Odes* IV. iii. 13, "*Romae principis urbium*".

45, 46. Wickham points out that the phrase *fontium qui celat origines* applies to Danube as well as to Nile, and quotes Seneca (*Quaest. Nat.* iv. 1), "*quod et fontis ignoti et aestate quam hieme maior sit*".

47. *beluosus*, found only in this place; *belua*, a creature of unusual size and ferocity. Cf. Theognis (i. 75), *βαθυκῆτεα πόντον*.

49. *non paventis funera Galliae*. Aristotle (*Eth. Nic.* iii. 7) speaks of the unnatural daring of the Celts, "who do not fear either earthquakes or waves". And Aelian, *Op.* xii. 23, *ἀνθρώπων ἐγὼ ἀκούω φυγοκινδυνστάτους εἶναι τοὺς κέλτους*; also Lucan, i. 454—

"*quos ille timorum*

*maximus haud urget, leti metus: inde ruendi
in ferrum mens prona viris animaeque capaces
mortis et ignavum rediturae parcere vitae*".

51. *Sygambri*. Cf. XVII. 36.

52. Page remarks, "mark the peaceful repose suggested by the sound and sense of this concluding line".

XXIII.

Augustus, long absent from Rome, is implored to return and to assure the peace which, thanks to him, the whole country enjoys.

I. *Divis orte bonis*, 'born by the good gift of heaven', *divis* being the abl. absol. or abl. of condition, not of origin. So most editors agree. But if so, why not *nate*? The dictionaries do not give an instance of *ortus* used absolutely for 'born'. It is always

followed by a preposition, or simple case. Page says, "Perhaps Horace purposely uses a phrase which suggests both ideas"

1. *Romulae* = *Romuleae*, for the convenience of metre.

4. *sancto concilio*. So Cic. *Cat.* ii. 4, "orbis terrae sanctissimum gravissimumque concilium", of the Senate.

5. So Aeschyl. *Persae*, 300-1, Atossa, speaking of the return of Xerxes—

ἐμοῖς μὲν εἶπας δώμασιν φάος μέγα
καὶ λευκὸν ἡμᾶρ νυκτὸς ἐκ μελαρχίμου.

6. *instar*, an indecl. substantive, is used very much as our word 'like' is used, *i.e.* somewhat ungrammatically.

7. *gratior it*, 'passes in more delightful fashion'. Comp. for this the lover's language in Verg. *Ecl.* vii. 59, "Phyllidis adventu nostrae nemus omne virebit".

9-14. *mater* is subject of *vocat*. Cf. *Odes* III. vii., where a wife is lamenting the absence of her husband, kept during the winter in Oricus (a harbour in Epirus, and so E. of Italy). The Carpathian Sea (see xix. 6) was still more so. The s.w. wind (Notus) would be unfavourable in either case. All sailing, indeed, was at an end between early in November and late in March.

11. *spatio annuo* = "the sailing time of one year" (Wickham), "the space yearly available for navigation" (Page). But why not, more simply 'a year'? Cicero (*Epist. ad Atticum*, vi. 5) has exactly the usage, "Etsi annum tempus prope iam emeritum habebamus", the year being regarded from the point of view of its duration. Here the young man started presumably in March, but failed to return in November. He has had to stay during the winter, and after the second March his mother looks for him.

11. *cunctantem* goes with *trans aequora*, and *longius* qualifies *distinet*.

13. She makes vows for his safe return, consults omens about it, and prays for it.

14. *curvo*, 'embayed'.

15. *desideriis icta fidelibus*, 'heart-stricken with a loyal longing'.

17. *perambulat*, of the grazing, not the ploughing steer.

17, 18. *rura perambulat, nutrit rura*. Page points out the "chiasmus", a common figure in rhetoric, by which two words were emphasized, the first corresponding with the fourth, and the second with the third. If one is written under the other we get

Subject		Verb.
Verb		Subject.

presenting a resemblance to the Greek X (chi).

18. **Faustitas** is found here only in Latin literature, the personification of the condition in which all things are prosperous, *i.e.* enjoy the favour of the gods (*faustus, faveo*).

19. **pacatum**, the regular word for a region brought under allegiance to Rome, in which the *Pax Romana* prevailed (*Pax Romana* is, however, an expression later than the Augustan period). Here it has a special signification of 'freed from pirates', a result brought about when Sex. Pompeius was conquered.

20. Cf. XXI. 59-60 for the opposite state of things.

21-24. The happy result of the legislation against immorality on which Augustus had bestowed such pains.

25. **gelidum Scythen**, 'the Scythians from the land of frost'.

26. **horrida**. So Tac. *Germ.* v., "silvis horridam", but there is also an allusion to the uncivilized condition of the people.

27. **fetus**, 'creatures', a word of contempt, "Germanorum immania corpora".

28. **Hiberiae**, northern Spain, the land of the *Cantaber*; the Cantabri had been subdued by Agrippa in B.C. 19.

29. **condit diem**, 'sees the sun go down', lit. 'hides the sun'.

29. **collibus in suis**, 'on his own hill-side', with a reference, doubtless, to the poet's own farm among the Sabine hills.

30. Cf. XVIII. 21.

31, 32. The second course, when the meal itself had been cleared away (done by actually removing the tables, so that *mensae*=course), was begun by a libation, which would be made to Augustus.

33. **prosequitur**, 'attends by following'; so 'honours'.

34. **pateris**, a vessel like a deep saucer, used for libations.

34. **Laribus**. Wickham quotes Merivale: "This worship of Augustus, or rather, perhaps, of the Lar of Augustus, as a demigod or genius, is to be distinguished from the later cult of the Caesars as deities, which Augustus himself interdicted at least in Rome". But compare XX. 51.

35, 36. **Castoris and Herculis** depend on memor.

37. **longas**, emphatic, 'long, I pray, may be the holiday you give'.

38. **Hesperiae**, the 'land of the west', *i.e.* Italy.

39. **integro sicci mane**, 'in the morning sober, with the whole day before us'.

39. **uvidi**, 'moist', 'well drunk'.

XXIV.

Horace, after his manner, depreciates his own genius. A Pindar may sing of gods and heroes; but to attempt his themes means disaster for men of humbler gifts. *I*, says the poet, *am no swan soaring into the sky, but a bee busy in the humble task of gathering from the flowers their sweets. You, my friend Antonius, may attempt loftier themes, such as is the praise of Caesar, chief gift of heaven to earth. And even I, when he comes back victorious, may help to swell the strain of triumph.*

1. *aemulari*: "*aemulari* with the accusative is used of an honest and noble rivalry, with the dative of mean and ignoble envy". (Page.)

2. *Iule*. Iulus Antonius was born in 42 B.C., and was the younger son of the triumvir M. Antonius by Fulvia, Antony's second wife. Octavia, sister of Augustus, married to Antony in B.C. 40, brought him up. He was married to Octavia's daughter Marcella. Augustus took him into favour, and he became praetor in B.C. 13, and consul in B.C. 10. He was involved in the guilt of Julia, and compelled to commit suicide (B.C. 2). Iulus is not known as a *praenomen*, and it can hardly stand for Iulus or for *Iuli*, the vocative of Iulius. Antonius was connected with the Julian family through his father's mother Julia, sister of Julius Caesar, consul 64 B.C.—*Ille* has been conjectured, and is approved, though not adopted, by Page.

2. *ope* depends upon *ceratis*.

3, 4. Cf. *Odes* I. iii. 32—3—

"expertus vacuum Daedalus aëra
pennis non homini datis".

"Horace has no sympathy with human enterprise, and Daedalus in his favourite type of the vanity of scientific ambition" (Page).

4. *nomina*. So Ovid (*Trist.* i. 90), "Icarus Icaris nomina fecit aquis": the plural is a license taken for metrical reasons.

6. *aluere*, 'have swollen', lit. 'fattened'. There is a various reading *cum (imbres)...salire*. "Absurda lectio", says Orelli; Page differs.

7, 8. The metaphor is kept up in *fervet*, 'boils'; *immensus* 'kept within no boundaries'; *ruit*, 'rushes'; and *profundo*, 'deep'. It is dropped in *ore*, 'utterance'.

7. *immensusque*. For this peculiarity of metre see Appendix D.

9–14. Horace briefly describes four kinds of poetry in which Pindar excelled, in all of which he is 'worthy to be gifted with Apollo's bay': (1) in 10–12, *Dithyrambi* (properly songs in honour of the nativity of Bacchus, but extended to other themes); (2) in 13–16, *Paeans*, hymns in honour of gods and heroes; (3) in 17–20, *Triumphal Odes* (*Epinicia*), written to celebrate victories at the great

games of Greece); (4) in 21-24, *Dirges* (threnoi). Fragments of (2) and (4) remain, and three books of (3).

10. *nova verba*. Meaning new combinations of words. Aristotle says that compound words are best suited to the dithyrambs. Such words are found chiefly in the older Latin poets, as *hederigeræ*, *silvicultrix*, *memorivagus*, in Catullus.

11, 12. *numerus lege solutis*. As no dithyrambs survive, we know nothing about the metres in which they were written. The extant poems of Pindar are constructed with a most elaborate correspondence. It is possible that Horace may not have known this. It was not generally known by the moderns in the last century, when a "Pindaric Ode" was a name for a composition without any rule.

11. *fertur*, 'is borne', *i.e.* 'rushes along'.

15. *flamma Chimaerae*, 'the fire-breathing Chimaera' (Page, who compares "Montani venter", 'the corpulent Montanus', and Πολυέλκος βλα, 'the mighty Polynices').

17. *sive quos*. Supply *eos*, governed by *canit*, from line 13.

17. Elea, of *Elis*, in which region Olympia was situated. *palma* is frequently used of a prize, as in lines quoted in next note.

18. *caelestes*, cf. *Odes* 1. i. 5, "palmaque nobilis | terrarum dominos evehit ad deos". For the honours paid to the victorious athlete see *Dict. of Antiquities*, i. 239, 240.

18. *equum* must be equivalent to the owner of the horse.

19. *signis*, statues of the winners was erected both at Olympia (and other places where the games were celebrated), and in the athletes' native cities.

21. *ve*, answering to the *seu* of 10 and 13, and *sive* of 17. It commonly is joined to the first word in the clause; *iuvenem* here is the most important.

22, 23. The *que* in both these lines is superfluous; it may be supposed to be elided before the vowel in the line that follows.

23. *aureos*, 'of the age of gold' = 'noble', or as Wickham says, "as all golden".

23, 24. Cf. *Odes* 1. viii. 17, "dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori".

25. *multa*, emphatic. 'Full is the breeze', &c.

25. *Dircaeum*. Dirce was a fountain near Thebes, and is frequently used as a poetical equivalent for *Thebanus*.

27. *tractus*, 'regions'. See *Dict.* for the development of this meaning.

27. *Matinae*. Cf. II. 28.

28. *more modoque*, a formula resembling the verbiage of legal documents, 'give and bequeath', &c.

29. *carpentis*, 'sucking the honey from the thyme' (Orelli). *thyma*. Cf. Verg. *Georg.* iv. 16, "redolentque thymo fragrantia mella".

30. *plurimum*, with *laborem* rather than with *nemus*.

30. *uvidi*, as watered by the Anio. So *Odes* I. vii. 13, "et praeceps Anio et Tiburni lucus et uda | mobilibus pomaria rivis".

31. *operosa parvus*. Compare with the bee and contrast with the description of Pindar.

33. *poeta*. Antonius is said to have written an epic poem on the story of Diomed.

33. *plectro*, the bow with which the strings of the harp were struck.

35. See I. 8 with note.

36. *Sygambros* (otherwise called *Sicambri*). This was a German tribe which inhabited the eastern bank of the Rhine, in the region now known as the Rhenish Provinces (the name is possibly preserved in that of the river Sieg). They invaded Gallia Belgica in B.C. 16, and defeated the *legatus*, M. Lollius. Augustus, who seems to have been greatly disturbed by the disaster, left Rome to take command of the operations which were intended to retrieve it. Before he arrived, however, the *Sygambri* made peace and retired to their own country. They were subdued by Rome, but not till some years after the writing of this ode.

37. *quo*, i.e. *Caesare*.

37-40. Cf. *Epp.* II. i. 17, "nil oriturum alias, nil ortum tale fatentes", and Ovid (*Epis. ex Ponto*. I. ii. 100), "Alma nihil maius Caesare terra ferat".

38-40. *donavere, dabunt*, probably used as identical, though it may be said that *donavere* means 'have actually presented', while *dabunt* has a less definite meaning.

42. *publicum ludum*, a celebration of games (it took place in B.C. 13).

42. *impetrato*, 'prayed for and obtained', 'granted to our prayers'.

Coins exist dated A. U. C. 730 (B.C. 16), with the inscription S. P. Q. R. V. S. Pro S. et Red. Aug., "Senatus Populique Romani vota suscepta pro salute et reditu Augusti".

46. *meae vocis bona pars*, 'the worthiest part of my utterance'.

46. *accedet*, 'shall be added' to the general acclaim.

46. *sol*, 'day' (of Caesar's return).

48. *felix* belongs to *ego*, subject of *canam*, not, as some have suggested, to *sol* or *dies*.

49, 50. The authority of the MSS. is in favour of the reading of the text. *Te* must refer to *Triumphe*, and the passage may be rendered, "Thee, as thou passest on, Ho Triumph! will we call upon ('thy name will we pronounce'), and that not once only, Ho Triumph!" This is not very satisfactory. *Te* in this stanza has a different reference to *te* in the next, and indeed to *te* all through the poem, which is addressed to Antonius. Whether the objection is, as Page thinks, "fatal", it is certainly very serious.

The alternative is to read *Tuque, dum procedis*, &c., 'while thou goest in front', &c. We thus get the desired reference to Antonius, but the reference is too strong. It is true that Antonius might have a leading part in the procession as connected with the imperial house; but, as Wickham remarks, "Antonius's place in the procession, if he had one, could hardly be important enough to bear the weight of this stanza. It could hardly be applied to any but the *triumphator* himself."

Neither reading, therefore, is satisfactory, and the choice lying between two evils it is best to give the preference to the MSS.

54. *solvet*. The terms used in reference to the making and paying of vows were, it may be said, borrowed from the courts of law. When the object for which the vow was made had been attained, the person making it was *voti reus* or *voti damnatus*; when he performed the vow he was *solutus*.

55. *iuvenescit*, 'becomes a iuventus'.

56. *in mea vota*, 'for the payment of my vow'.

57. *curvatos ignes*, 'the bright crescent'.

58. 'Of the moon when she brings again her third rising', *i.e.* is three days old.

59. *notam duxit*, 'has acquired a mark'.

59. *niveus videri*, a Greek use of the infinitive. So Theocritus (xi. 20), *λευκοτέρα πακτᾶς ποτιδεῖν*.

The studied quiet of this conclusion, besides being in harmony with Horace's usual practice (cf. XVIII.), suits the attitude of self-depreciation which he has maintained throughout.

XXV.

The poet having celebrated the warlike achievements of Augustus, now praises him as the author of universal peace.

1, 2. *lyra* to be joined with *increpuit*, not as the old commentators took it with *loqui*. 'Phoebus rebuked me by a loud and angry note struck on his lyre.' So Ovid (*A. A.* ii. 493)—

"haec ego cum canerem, subito manifestus Apollo
movit inauratae pollice fila lyrae";

also Verg. (*Ecl.* vi. 3)—

“cum canerem reges et proelia Cynthus aurem
vellit et admonuit”.

3, 4. A not uncommon metaphor for a daring undertaking.

5. Cf. XIX. 18. There may be a double meaning in this. The husbandman can now cultivate his lands in peace, and also special encouragement has been given to agriculture.

6, 7. Cf. XV. 22.

9. Ianum Quirini, the full form of what is generally expressed by ‘Ianus’ alone. The doors, shut only in time of complete peace, were closed three times in reign of Augustus.

10. Cf. XX. 29.

12. artes, virtues; cf. XIV. 9.

14. imperi; cf. XV. 26.

15. maiestas, dignity. The word is often used with participle *laesa*, understood, to signify the offence of high treason, that is a wrong meditated or committed against the well-being of the country.

17, 18. furor, vis: *vis* is the violence in which the *furor* finds expression.

20. inimicat, not found in any author before Horace. Cf. *Odes* I. xvi. 17—

“irae Thyesten exitio gravi
stravere, et altis urbibus ultimae
stetere causae, cur perirent
funditus.”

22. edictum, a proclamation of any Roman magistrate, especially of the praetor.

23. Seres; cf. XXI. 56.

25. nos, ‘while the nations keep peace we will thank the givers of it’.

25. profestis, ‘common’, “profestum diem dicebant, qui festus non erat”.

28. apprecati, found first in Horace.

29. virtute functos duces, *fungor* to go through or discharge fully. So Verg. (*Georg.* iv. 75–6), “defunctaque corpora vita | magnanimum heroum”. *Virtus* would seem to mean ‘a man’s part’.

30. Lydis. The epithet does not seem very appropriate, and is anyhow more suitable to the ‘munera Liberi’ than to the theme celebrated. Plato speaks of ἡ Λυδιστὶ ἀρμυνία as of ‘the effeminate kind’.

30. remixto = *mixto*, an Horatian usage.

APPENDIX A.

OTHER REFERENCES TO POLITICAL EVENTS.

It will be convenient to bring together the references to contemporary events which are to be found in *Odes* not included in this selection.

Orodes I. (otherwise Arsaces XIV.) resigned his kingdom to his son Phraates IV. (Arsaces XV.), after the defeat inflicted on Pacorus (see Introduction). Phraates, who is said to have begun his reign by murdering his father, his thirty brothers, and his own grown-up son, was expelled by his subjects, who set Tiridates on the throne. (Tiridates was one of the royal house, but his relationship to Phraates is not known.) The banished king was, however, restored before long by the Scythians, and Tiridates put himself under the protection of Rome, taking with him his rival's infant son. Phraates demanded of the Romans the surrender of the fugitives. Augustus refused to give up Tiridates, but sent back the son on the condition that the standards captured from Crassus should be restored. The dates of these events, except the last, which is fixed at the year 20 B.C., are not certain. Dion Cassius ascribes the flight of Tiridates to the year 30, saying that he met Augustus in Syria some time after the battle of Actium. Justin, on the other hand, declares that Tiridates found the emperor in Spain. This brings the occurrence down to the year 25. Both Dion (155-240? A.D.) and Justin (400? A.D.) draw their information from contemporary sources; but Dion was the more careful of the two, and his account is more intrinsically probable. Syria was a more likely locality than Spain for an interview between a Parthian pretender and Augustus.

In *l.* xxvi. 3-5 the poet tells us that the favourite of the Muses is careless—

"quis sub Arcto
rex gelidae metuatur orae,
quod Tiridaten terreat".

This must refer to the time when Tiridates was still on the throne, and alarmed at the prospect of the intervention of the Scythian king. Others take the *rex* to mean some formidable Dacian prince, referred to in Verg. *Georg.* ii. 497, "aut coniurato descendens Dacus ab Istro". In *Odes* ii. ii. 17—

"redditum Cyri solio Phraaten
dissidens plebi numero beatorum
eximit Virtus"

belongs to the later period when Tiridates had been expelled. The reference in the passage in I. xxxiv. 14-16 is general, if, indeed, it is a reference at all:—

“hinc apicem rapax
Fortuna cum stridore acuto
sustulit, hic posuisse gaudet”,

(the word *apex* appears to be used of the lofty tiara of an Eastern king. In Verg. *Aen.* it is applied to the tall cap worn by the Salii, viii. 6).

Another general reference introduces other events (III. viii. 17-24):—

“mitte civiles super Urbe curas :
occidit Daci Cotisonis agmen,
Medus infestus sibi luctuosus
dissidet armis,
servit Hispanae vetus hostis orae
Cantaber sera domitus catena,
iam Scythae laxo meditantur arcu
cedere campis”.

Cotiso was defeated by M. Crassus in 30 A.D., and later, at some time unknown, by a Lentulus. If we prefer to take the earlier date, the passage suits very well the position which we know Maecenas to have occupied at Rome during the years 31-29. Augustus left Rome early in 31 and returned to it in August, 29. While he was absent Maecenas was vicegerent. A very similar passage occurs in III. xxix. 25-28:—

“tu, civitatem quis deceat status,
curas, et Urbi sollicitus times,
quid Seres et regnata Cyro
Bactra parent, Tanaisque discors”.

It is true that Augustus left Rome again in 27, and was absent for nearly three years. Maecenas *may* have occupied the same position as before, but this is not probable. Agrippa, who had been actively engaged in the Actium campaign, was now resident in Rome. (Mommson thinks that he held the *proconsulare imperium*.) And Agrippa, as the emperor's son-in-law, must have had precedence even of Maecenas. On the whole, it seems better to take the earlier of the two dates for these references.

The phrase used of the Cantabri, “fera domitus catena”, might seem to prove the contrary, but that it proves too much. This tribe was not finally subdued till the year 19, when, after a fierce resistance, in which half their number is said to have perished, they were compelled to quit their mountain homes and to occupy the lower valleys. But this year is too late a date for the Third Book of the Odes. It must be allowed, however, that the expression does favour, on the whole, the later date. In 25 Augustus was in Spain, and won great victories over the Cantabri, who elsewhere are spoken of as unconquered, as in II. vi. 2—

“Cantabrum indoctum iuga ferre nostra”.

APPENDIX B.

NOTE ON VI. 21-24.

Plüss suggests a totally different interpretation of these lines, and finds a supporter, somewhat, I must own, to my surprise, in Professor Sellar (*Horace and the Elegiac Poets*, p. 124). According to his view the *dux* of line 22 is not Augustus but Cleopatra, who is compared to Jugurtha in 21-2 and to Hasdrubal in 23-4, and pronounced to be more detestable than either. Propertius is quoted to show that the parallel between Jugurtha and Cleopatra had suggested itself to a Roman poet:—

“Di melius! quantus mulier foret una triumphus
ductus erat per quas ante Jugurtha vias” (iv. vi. 65, 66).

Hasdrubal had declared at the final siege of Carthage that he would find his tomb in the ruins of his native city, but afterwards condescended to beg his life of Scipio. This, says Professor Sellar, affords the only rational explanation of the words—

“Cui super Karthaginem
Virtus sepulchrum condidit”.

This interpretation in its entirety is Plüss's own, but it was anticipated so far as the identification of *ducem* with Cleopatra, an idea of which Orelli says, “mire nuper quidam exposuit”, &c. It seems almost impossible that Horace should use so well-known a *cognomen* as “Africanus”, familiarly applied to the two Scipios and never applied to any one else, of Hasdrubal. Horace is seldom obscure, but, if this was his meaning, it must be allowed that he concealed it with the greatest success. The same must be said of “Cui super Karthaginem”, &c. If it is intended for irony, it missed its effect for more than eighteen centuries. Velleius Paterculus must have understood it of Scipio when he wrote, for the allusion is scarcely doubtful: “Virtus dea voluit ut Karthaginis parietinae sempiternum essent Scipionis Minoris monumentum”. The old commentators did the same, for they invented, after their manner, a story of how, at the bidding of an oracle, a statue of the Elder Africanus was erected at Ostia with the face turned to Carthage. It should be noted that Livy (xxxviii. 56) speaks of the burial-place of the Elder Africanus being unknown. What then more natural than for the poet to say that his valour made his real burying-place in the Carthage which he had conquered!

APPENDIX C.

NOTE ON XV. 40.

It has been remarked with perfect truth that one of the causes which reconciled Horace to the imperial *régime* was the element of culture which it contained. Nor was this only a consideration of personal advantage. He willingly conceded to a despot who was at the same time a munificent patron of letters the allegiance which he would have been reluctant to allow to a rude soldier of the Marius type.

Of the patronage which Augustus and his minister Maecenas bestowed upon the writers of the time enough has been said by others. The chief part of the credit doubtless belongs to the minister, who had, however, it must be remembered, opportunities of becoming acquainted with the men and their work which his master lacked. Augustus's absences from Rome were long and frequent during the earlier part of his reign, and the business of government which fell upon him must have been almost overpowering. But what Suetonius tells us of his personal accomplishments in this direction is peculiarly interesting. Suetonius was secretary to Hadrian, and had access, it would seem, to manuscripts of Augustus which were probably preserved with other personal belongings of the great emperor. He gives many particulars about his orthography and handwriting, learnt, he tells us, from inspection of the originals.

Augustus was from his earliest years a diligent and eager student. He was actually working under an eminent teacher at Apollonia when he was called to take an active share in political life by his uncle's death. From that time no press of occupation, civil or military, could wholly keep him away from his books. He wrote in prose, "Reply to Brutus about Cato", "A Praise of Philosophy", and "An Autobiography"—thirteen books, reaching as far as the year 22 B.C. In verse he was the author of an hexameter poem on *Sicily*, and of a small volume of *Epigrams*. A more ambitious attempt was a tragedy on the subject of Ajax. In this he did not persevere. "How fares Ajax?" a friend once asked him. "Fallen on his sponge!" was the answer, or as it may be put, "Wiped himself out!" I need hardly remind my readers that Ajax in legend committed suicide by falling on his sword.

APPENDIX D.

HORACE'S METRES.

The Odes and Epodes of Horace exhibit as many as nineteen varieties of metre. In this selection we are not concerned with more than seven of these. These seven may be briefly described.

Extracts I., III., IV., and VI. are written in *iambic* couplets, the first line consisting of six feet (trimeter) and the second of four (dimeter). The second, fourth, and sixth are iambs (— —); the first, third, and fifth may be spondees (— —). Other feet are occasionally admitted. In IV. 27 the second foot is a tribrach (— — —), which is equivalent to an iamb, as two short syllables are regarded as equal to one long. In I. 3 the third foot is a dactyl (— — —), equivalent, on the same principle, to a spondee.

Extract II. is written in couplets of which the first is a dactylic hexameter (similar to the verse in which the *Aeneid* of Virgil, the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, etc., are written), the second is a trimeter iambic. It is to be noticed, however, that the iambic lines consist of iambs only, no other foot being admitted. Lines so constructed are called *pure* iambics.

Fourteen of the selected odes are written in the Alcaic metre. These are VII., IX.—XVII., XIX., XXI., XXII., XXV. This is a metre which Horace adopted with some variations from the Greek poet Alcaeus. It is a stanza of four lines, in which the first and second are of this form—

— — — — — || — — — — —

Very rarely the first syllable of the line is short. There is almost always a pause after the fifth syllable; or, in other words, it very seldom happens that a word is found belonging partly to the first and partly to the second half of the line. One of these rare exceptions will be found in VII. 14—

mentemque lymphatam Mareotico,

where the fifth and sixth syllables are found in the same word. The third line of the stanza is of this form—

— — — — —

Here again the first syllable is very rarely found short. The fourth line is as follows:—

— — — — —

Next to the Alcaic may be mentioned the Sapphic metre. This was borrowed, again with variations, from Sappho, a poetess contemporary with Alcaeus, and like him a native of the island of Lesbos.

This also consists of a stanza of four lines in which the first three are of this model—

— ◡ — — — || ◡ ◡ — ◡ — —

and the fourth of this—

— ◡ ◡ — —

The line is commonly divided between the fifth and sixth syllables. But in his later examples of the metre, Horace, conscious, we may suppose, of its monotony, frequently introduces lines where this division, or *caesura*, takes place after the sixth. In the first three books this occurs but six times. The line “*Quem virum aut heroa lyra vel acri*” (XX. 1) is an instance. A somewhat similar effect is produced in about as many more cases by the elision of a syllable, as in “*imbrium divina avis imminetum*”. But in the three Sapphic Odes of the Fourth Book there are fifteen examples, and in the *Carmen Saeculare* nineteen. In the *Alcaic stanza*, on the other hand, where the variety of rhythm is greater, Horace allows himself less license in the later than in the earlier Odes. In this selection VIII., XX., XXIV. are written in the Sapphic metre.

Finally, there are three metres which have the name of *Asclepiad*.

(1) Extract XVIII. is of this model—

— — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡
— — — ◡ ◡ — || — ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡

the first line being named a *Glyconic*, the second an *Asclepiad*. The metre is called the *First Asclepiad*. (Sometimes it is called the *Second*, the First consisting of *Asclepiad* verses only.)

(2) Extract XXIII. is of this model—

— — — ◡ ◡ — || — ◡ ◡ | — ◡ ◡
— — — ◡ ◡ — || — ◡ ◡ | — ◡ ◡
— — — ◡ ◡ — || — ◡ ◡ | — ◡ ◡
— — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡

Lines 1, 2, 3 are *Asclepiads*, line 4 a *Glyconic*. This is called the *Second* (otherwise the *Third*) *Asclepiad*.

(3) Extract V. is of this model—

— — — ◡ ◡ — || — ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡
— — — ◡ ◡ — || — ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡
— — — ◡ ◡ — — —
— — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡

Lines 1, 2 are *Asclepiads*, line 3 a *Pherecratic*, line 4 a *Glyconic*. This is the *Third* (or *Fourth*) *Asclepiad*.

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